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THE

SCOTTISH REVIEW.

JULY, 1895.

ART. I.—A SCOTTISH FREE-LANCE: SIR ANDREW MELVILLE.

A SCION of a leading Scottish family was sent in 1637 to Prussia to learn German. He gave his tutor the slip to go a-soldiering in Poland; but, disappointed in this, he returned to Scotland, where he found his parents dead and his patrimony confiscated by creditors. Turning freebooter, he was captured and imprisoned by peasants. He next went to France, where he entered the army and underwent many dangers and privations. He then joined Charles II. in Scotland, fought at Worcester, and was sheltered by villagers till his wounds were healed, when he effected his escape to the Continent. Again in France, he commanded the Scottish body-guard of Cardinal de Retz. Thrown into prison, he was well nigh starved into abjuring Protestantism. Once more in the field, he was captured by Croats. He next served German princes, one of whom sent him to London to compliment Charles on the Restoration. He fought for Austria against the Turks, combatted the French at Treves, and after the peace of Nimeguen settled down as governor of a Hanoverian town. Yet strange to say, his autobiography, published in French at Amsterdam in 1704, a second edition appearing in the follow-

ing year, has never been reprinted, nor translated into English. One reason of this is that the author gives no pedigree, nor even his Christian name, information unnecessary at the time but of importance to posterity, so that he is indistinguishable among a host of homonyms; consequently the British Museum catalogue leaves a blank for the Christian name, and an exhaustive history of the family from which he sprang, while containing a letter addressed to him, was unable to trace his relationship, or even to identify him as the autobiographer.

When these missing links are supplied, when we further find that this soldier of fortune accompanied the future George I. on his first visit to England, and when we see when and where he ended his days, the *Mémoires de M. le Chevalier de Melvill* possesses a high degree of interest as depicting the life of a Scottish free-lance in the seventeenth century.

It is needless, after the *Leven and Melville Papers* (1843) and Sir William Fraser's *Melvilles of Melville and Leven* (1890) to go further back in the history of the family than to Sir John Melville of Raith, executed at Stirling in 1529.* One, probably the youngest, of his nine sons was Captain David Melville of Newmills, who married Mary, daughter of James Balfour, of the Montquhonny family, by Margaret Balfour, heiress of Burghly. David was one of the garrison of Edinburgh Castle in 1570. Despatched by his nephew, Kirkaldy of the Grange, on an unsuccessful attempt to capture the Earl of Morton at Dalkeith, he was mortally wounded, died in the Castle, and was probably buried in St. Giles's churchyard, Kirkaldy delivering a funeral oration. He left a son, James, who married Isabel, daughter of John Dury by Marion Marjoribanks. James had a son John, who married Janet, daughter of William Kelly by Barbara Lauder. John had two sons. We do not even know the name of the elder, who as we shall see fought at Worcester and was transported to the Colonies. The younger, Andrew, our hero, was born in May 1621. This Newmills branch, which Douglas's *Baronage* does not take the trouble

* I may, however, mention that there are four villages in Normandy called Melville, besides a Melville in Haute Marne.

to trace, must have been small lairds, yet, as we have seen, they intermarried with good families. John's mother descended from the Lundys, and his grandmother was a Balfour, while his wife descended from the Lauders, and was related to the Douglasses. John seems to have hoped for Court favour through her connections. Andrew, indeed, had an impression that, 'as long as there were Kings in Scotland, my ancestors filled important posts, but when James VI. went to England, my family, not following the Court, began to decline.' I cannot, however, discover that his grandfather or greatgrandfather held any high office, and his father, he tells us himself, was in 1624 living as a laird in easy circumstances. The brother-in-law, Kelly, however, was Chamberlain—probably a Sub-Chamberlain—to Charles I., and was unmarried, Janet being apparently his only heir; yet his office, so far from being lucrative, involved such expense that John Melville had repeatedly to assist him. Kelly died in his prime, with great expectations not realised, so that Melville had to satisfy the creditors partly out of his own means. He was glad, therefore, to be relieved of the cost of bringing up his youngest son by sending him, at thirteen years of age, to a kinswoman, who, after keeping him a few months, despatched him to Konigsberg to master the languages of Northern Europe. The knowledge of Dutch, German, and Polish thus acquired, proved, as we shall see, of essential service to him. Study, however, did not suit a lad already smitten with the love of arms, and enlisted by an officer who was recruiting for the King of Poland, Andrew gave his tutors the slip. But on reaching Poland he found that peace had been concluded, and though Ladislas IV. would gladly have accepted his services he resolved on returning to Scotland. Bad news awaited him there. His parents were dead, and creditors had seized on the property. His elder brother was already a Captain in Lord Gray's regiment of dragoons, and Gray promised Andrew the first vacant cornetcy. He was waiting for this when Charles I. gave himself up to the Scotch. 'Thereupon,' he says:—

'We had orders to be in readiness to march against the English as soon as hostilities could be commenced. I was preparing with alacrity when an

affair happened which upset all my plans, and which I am anxious to relate here in order that young men by reading it may learn what precautions they should take in time of war, especially when among people whom they have reason to distrust. There were in our regiment several unattached officers who, like me, were waiting for commissions. Their number being considerable, they were formed into a company, of which I was cornet; but as no pay was assigned us we helped ourselves wherever we were the strongest. The license we thus took raised all the peasants against us. Seeing that we suspected nothing, they secretly assembled, surprised us one night when asleep, and having seized our arms and horses, took us as prisoners to a castle three days journey from the spot where we were captured. We were compelled to go on foot, but what especially annoyed was seeing these peasants escorting us with our own arms and horses. What we felt in such circumstances may easily be imagined. We remained two months in that castle, exposed to all sorts of ill-usage, and not being accustomed to this, I know not what would have become of me if the hostess's chambermaid had not pitied my fate. There was fortunately something in my appearance which pleased her and induced her to pick me out from my comrades. She visited me every night as soon as her mistress was in bed, and always brought me food, of which I stood in great need. The girl was tall, a good figure, and very lively, and could sing well. This was more than enough to please a man of my age [22], and irrespective of my obligations to her it was not difficult for me to show affection for her. This made her actually fancy that I might marry her. She proposed this to me, promising me my liberty. Ardently as I longed for this, the price put upon it by this girl seemed to me worse than slavery. I did not think it well, however, to let her know my feeling, for fear of making her my enemy, so without committing myself I answered in such a way as to keep in her good graces. We were on these terms when the governor was ordered to release his prisoners. I, like my comrades, prepared to leave, but the girl objected, saying that I must fulfil the promise to marry her. Honour did not allow me to agree to what the girl demanded, but my conduct seemed very ungrateful. I stood firm, however, and was released, a friend being surety for me.'

It would be curious to know where this one-sided courtship took place, but Melville is as careless of names of places as of dates. Thus liberated, he rejoined the army, but to his disappointment the time passed not in fighting but in negotiating, and the King being at length given up to the English, Melville's regiment was disbanded. In 1647 he and his brother repaired to France. His brother, not liking the country or his prospects in it, went on to Venice. Andrew joined the infantry as a sergeant. He took part under Gassion, the pupil

of Gustavus Adolphus, in the siege of Lens, where he was severely wounded. Gassion being killed in this siege, Melville next served under Rantzau at the siege of Dixmude.

'I cannot,' he says, 'describe what we had to suffer during this campaign. Hunger and other privations did us more harm than the enemy whom we had to face.' Melville frankly relates that an empty purse, for pay was very irregular, drove him to an act of dishonesty. While he was roaming with a comrade in the outskirts of Dixmude, an officer riding past dropped his taffetas cloak trimmed with the silver lace then in fashion. They could not resist appropriating it, and though the officer, quickly discovering his loss, rode back and questioned them, they persisted that they had not seen the cloak. He disbelieved them, but resigned himself to the loss. 'Youth and penury are the only excuse, if they could excuse this.' Melville next took part in the siege of Yprès, under the famous Condé. Here a Scottish captain, Meffer (?), took an interest in him, promoted him to be ensign, and had he not himself been killed in the siege would probably have done more for him. Without pay, having to live by plunder, Melville and some comrades were captured on one of their marauding expeditions by Croats of the garrison of Armentières. To save themselves the trouble of guarding their prisoners, the Croats resolved on shooting them. Melville, knowing the language, heard their deliberations and apprised his comrades of their fate. Such were the hardships they had suffered that most of them accepted death without regret. Stripped of all but their shirts they were ranged along the wall of the house to which they had been taken. Each Croat had his appointed victim, but the musket of Melville's executioner missed fire. The Croat in a rage knocked him down with the butt-end, and was reloading when Melville, following the example of a comrade, leaped into a ditch or canal, and though fired at, managed to reach the other side. Here he had to force his way through a hawthorn hedge, which tore his shirt and lacerated his skin; but beyond the hedge was a wheatfield, and the corn was high enough to screen him. He was not a little afraid, however, of falling into the hands of

the peasants, who naturally killed stragglers in revenge for the depredations which they experienced. But he walked on to a village which proved to be deserted, entered a cottage, threw himself on some straw, had a refreshing sleep, found a sack which served as a garment, and resumed his march. He was soon captured by some German soldiers, but speaking their language well, was taken by them for a countryman engaged on the opposite side, and was conducted to headquarters, where Archduke Leopold ordered that he should be treated as a prisoner of war. As such he had to march to Lille, but on reaching the suburbs was so exhausted that he sat down by a wall and slept till evening. Admitted after some demur into the town, he was directed to a hospital on the ramparts, a building unutterably filthy and loathsome. The inmates, however, told him of an Irish monastery which showed great kindness to Irish soldiers. Next morning, accordingly, he repaired thither, enjoyed a substantial meal, and then went on to the Spanish camp. There he found an Irish regiment with a Scottish Colonel, Cascar, who knew of the position of the Melvilles in Scotland, clothed him, and admitted him to his table. Melville was pressed to join the Spanish army, but he was in hopes of being ransomed by the French. Disappointed in this, he helped to raise for the Duke of Lorraine a regiment which was to assist the Prince of Wales, the future Charles II., in rescuing his father.

Melville gives a vivid picture of the insubordination of these recruits—Scottish, Irish, German, and French. While on board a vessel off Embden his life was in constant peril, and nothing but his nerve saved him. He spent the summer of 1648 on the Isle of Borcom, drilling his company, mostly English and Irish. The execution of Charles I. caused the abandonment of the expedition, and the Duke of Lorraine thereupon offered the regiment to Spain, to be shipped for San Sebastian, but the officers rebelled and landed at Ostend. The Duke, who was at Brussels, had already received payment from Spain, but he could not help himself, and kept the regiment in his service. Pay, however, was in arrear, and Melville was despatched to Brussels to extract money. But

the Duke could not or would not pay up, and he at length handed over the regiment to Archduke Leopold, under whom the officers were willing to serve. By this time, desertions had reduced Melville's company to thirty men, other companies being still smaller. He took part in the unsuccessful siege of Guise, but in 1650, anxious to accompany Charles II. to Scotland, he repaired to Breda, where he was well received. The Archduke reluctantly released him from his engagement, writing to Charles in his favour, as also did the Duke of Lorraine. Tired of waiting at Yprès for an escort to Holland, especially as Charles was already in Scotland, Melville went alone and on foot to Bruges. The country was covered with soldiers and freebooters, but he went in a coarse dress, with his money in a belt fastened round his left arm, as though on account of a wound. He was searched, indeed, and his hat and shoes were taken from him, but he managed to reach Bruges. There he looked so destitute that lodgings were everywhere refused him, till an old woman, after scrutinizing him closely, agreed to take him in. He bespoke a good meal and bed, and, on her looking distrustful of his ability to pay, he took off his belt and showed her some gold coins. Next day he reached Rotterdam, where he joined a German Captain bound like himself for Scotland. The English fleet was scouring the North Sea, but a Scottish pilot engaged to make the passage, and enlisted a few sailors.

After eight days at sea they came in sight of the English fleet, but were unobserved or at any rate unmolested, and on the twelfth day landed at Montrose. Melville went to St. Johnstone [Perth], presented to Charles his two letters of recommendation, and was promised a commission. After waiting a fortnight he was sent to the Earl of Hamilton, who was raising troops in the north. He stayed five or six weeks and then went back to Charles to report progress. On the way he had to cross a ferry, and unable to make the ferryman hear, he fired a pistol. Thereupon the man came over, but told him he had killed his child. Melville could not believe that a pistol could carry so far, but on reaching the other side he saw the child dead in its mother's arms. He showed much

concern, and pacified the parents with money. He found Charles at Stirling, and marched with him to Worcester. There he was ordered to join the Earl of Derby, who was to raise a regiment in the Isle of Man, but Cromwell's army was closing in on Worcester, and he had to turn back to inform Charles of their advance.

The Battle of Worcester lasted from nine in the morning of the 3rd September, 1651, till eight at night. The Royalists had at first a slight advantage, but lost it, Melville says, by their own fault, were thrown into disorder, and were forced to retreat towards the town in a fashion much resembling flight:—

'We had sufficient reasons for believing that Cromwell would be satisfied with this, and would not risk his already wearied troops in the night by pursuing us into a town which sympathised with us. But we had to deal with a man well aware of his advantage and knowing how to make the most of it. He pursued us so hotly that confusion set in among our men, who began openly to flee. He pursued them pell-mell into the town.* I as yet knew nothing of it, for I had followed the King, who was among the first who entered the town. On leaving him, I perceived what turn things were taking, and instead of going to have a wound in the arm dressed, I bade my orderly fetch my clothes from my lodgings and join me in the street. While waiting on horseback for him I heard a horseman order the townspeople to put lights in their windows. I imagined that these men were all of our side, and I began to shout like them. This made them look at me, and seeing my white badge they exclaimed that I was a royalist and advanced in order to capture me. I escaped into another street, where I found a troop which I rushed into the midst of, shouting "There is the enemy!" But in trying to avoid a lesser evil I fell into a greater. One of the officers of this troop, knowing that I was on the King's side, came towards us. I suspected nothing, otherwise I could easily have avoided him or else shot him with the pistol I had in my hand. With a stroke of his sword he pierced my saddle girths and made me fall from my horse. In a moment I was surrounded by several soldiers, who, each tugging at me in a different direction, would soon have stripped me,

* In his letter to Speaker Lenthall Cromwell speaks of 'our men entering (the town) at the enemy's heels, and fighting with them in the streets with very great courage.' Other contemporary accounts speak of thousands of prisoners being penned up in the cathedral, and of 'plucking lords, knights, and gentlemen from their lurking holes.' Melville's brother was perhaps one of these.

if a cornet, pitying me, had not come up and asked who I was. I told him I was an officer, and begged him not to allow me to be treated otherwise than as a prisoner of war. The good fellow, touched by my appeal, began to drive the soldiers off, but one of them, indignant at their prey being taken from them, exclaimed, "at any rate nobody shall benefit by it," and fired his pistol at my breast. I fell, weltering in my blood, which issued in streams from the wound, but I did not lose consciousness, for on the cornet, aghast at being the innocent cause of my misfortune, asking me whether I thought I could get over it, I replied that I believed I could if taken care of. Thereupon he made his servant raise me, helped to place me on a horse, and in this way took me out of the town to the foot of a hill, already in the enemy's possession.* When in sight of a guard posted there, the cornet asked them to come down, as he had a prisoner to hand over to them. A sergeant then appeared. My generous protector hesitated at giving me up to him, but nobody else coming, he did so, and bidding him take good care of me, and promising to come and see me next day, he went away. The sergeant, assisted by a private, dragged me up the hill, and thought he had done enough by placing me on a gun carriage, where I passed the night without any attentions. Happily they had laid me on the wounded side, so that the blood flowed freely and did not coagulate. I was however parched with thirst, and nobody was charitable enough to relieve it, though I repeatedly begged for water and though there was a well quite near, from which I heard water at times being drawn, which increased my longing for it.'

Bate, in his *Elenchus Motuum*, speaks in a few lines of Latin of the scene in the town, of the victors striking, capturing, and vociferating, of the vanquished fleeing and supplicating, of the townspeople beseeching and lamenting, of the streets covered with the killed and wounded, of the latter imploring help or drawing their last breath; but how much more vividly we realise this when we read what befel a single man. Melville goes on to say :—

'As soon as it was daylight, the soldiers on guard came up to me. Some questioned me, but I was too weak to answer. Others stripped me of all that remained to me from the previous day, so that I was left naked, but one of those who had stripped me, touched with pity, covered me with a bit of blanket which he found there. In rendering me this service he noticed that my lips moved. This made him put his ear to my mouth, and

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* Probably Redhill, just outside the gates, or perhaps Bunny Hill, mentioned by Bate.

I begged him in God's name to let me speak to an officer. The soldier was kind enough to go to the officer in command of the post, and the officer was good enough to come. I stretched out my hand, and drawing him to me as well as my weakness would allow, I thanked him for coming to see me, told him that I was an officer, and that being apparently at the point of death I was glad to see a kind man, as he seemed to be, and that I had one request to make, which was that he would send to a certain house in the town for a portmanteau I had left there, that it contained money and clothes which were quite at his service, but also papers which would be useless to him and which I begged him to send to my relatives. The officer went away without answering, but presently returned with some soldiers, who, placing me on pikes, carried me to a neighbouring cottage. The officer's attentions did not end there. He fetched a bed, on which he laid me, and sent for a surgeon, but none could be found, and in short he treated me like a beloved brother. I had not long, however, the good fortune of his presence. An hour after rendering me these services he was ordered elsewhere, and all he could do was to recommend me strongly to a poor woman living in the house, after which he took leave of me with marks of sincere regret. After he had gone the village was pillaged, my hostess's cottage not escaping this misfortune. Even the bed on which I was lying was taken from her, I being pitilessly dragged off and rolled into a trench dug for the foundations of a house. My mishaps did not end there. A dead man was thrown into the same spot, and his legs lying over me I could not stir. How long I remained in this plight I cannot say, for I soon fainted, but I doubt not it would have been for ever but for what I am about to relate. My hostess and her two daughters had been stripped by the soldiers, and while looking for some rags to cover them they perceived me in the trench. They recognised me, and as I had been strongly recommended to them they drew me out, and seeing some signs of life carried me indoors, laid me on straw, and covered me as well as they could. I do not know what restoratives these good women used, but consciousness soon returned. After telling them what had happened to me, and the result of the battle, I asked one of them to go to the town and inquire whether General Douglas was not among the prisoners.* "If you learn that he is there," I said, "try and speak with him and inform him of my fate." The woman performed her mission cleverly. She learned that General Douglas was a prisoner, and had lost an eye, and discovering a

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* Several Douglases seem to have been captured at Worcester. There was a Sir John Douglas, and also a James Douglas, Lord Mordington, who told his captors he had left a box of 115 'old double pieces' [doubloons ?] with one Demetrius in Worcester, whereupon messengers were sent for it. *Cal. State Papers*, 1651. This shows that Melville was not alone in leaving his valuables in the town, its capture not being calculated upon.

means of speaking to him unobserved, she gave him my message. Douglas was a near relation on my mother's side, and my true friend. He was touched by my misfortunes, and secretly sent the same night a surgeon who continued visiting me at night for four or five weeks. One night he came with a countenance indicating what he had to tell me. He told me he had come for the last time, but as my wound was not yet healed he had brought me the wherewithal to dress it myself till it was well, that he was forced to accompany his master, who was about to be sent he knew not whither. As for the other prisoners, among whom was my brother, they had been condemned to the sugar and tobacco plantations of the West Indies.'

Melville remained more than three months in the cottage, two of the women begging for him from door to door, apparently in Worcester, while the third watched by him. One day while they were away, one of Cromwell's soldiers, peeping into the cottage, insisted on entering, and swore at him and his nurse; but on Melville's confession of being a Royalist soldier, and of having been in Holland, the man said he also had been there. They exchanged a few words in Dutch, and were presently the best of friends :—

'He began by telling me that at heart he was as good a Royalist as I, but that soldiers took sides as best they could, without thinking of anything but the pay, and that in proof of his sincerity he should be glad to serve me. Thereupon he sent the woman to buy some beer, that we might drink together, and he offered to divide his purse, containing some halfpence, with me. After staying a couple of hours in the cottage he left, promising to tell nobody of me.'

Could anything be more natural or charming than this episode? Macaulay says of Bunyan's swearing in boyhood, 'But a single admonition cured him of this bad habit for life, and the cure must have been wrought early, for at eighteen he was in the army of the Parliament, and if he had carried the vice of profaneness into that service he would doubtless have received something more than an admonition from Sergeant Bind-their-kings-in-chains, or Captain Hew-Agag-in-pieces-before-the-Lord.' But here we find a Cromwellian soldier swearing, and the mixture of brutality and kindness among his comrades bears out what worthy Thomas Fuller said at the time :—

'Think not that the King's army is like Sodom, not ten righteous men in it—no, not if righteous Lot himself be put into the number—and the other army like Zion, consisting all of saints. No, there be drunkards on both sides, and swearers on both sides, and whoremongers on both sides, pious on both sides and profane on both sides. Like Jeremiah's figs, those that are good are very good, and those that are bad are very bad, in both parties.*

As soon as he was strong enough to walk Melville resolved on going to London, and by the advice of his kind hostesses he represented himself as a German tailor, probably assuming a German accent. The women wept, wished him God speed, and accompanied him a short distance. 'Providence sometimes,' remarks Melville, who is usually chary of reflections, 'puts noble and lofty principles in the minds of persons of the humblest rank.' One would have liked to hear that on revisiting England, nine years afterwards, he found and rewarded his benefactresses, but he seems to have had a soldier's easy forgetfulness alike of benefits and injuries, and he does not even tell us whether he ever ascertained his brother's fate. He had to beg his way to London. While resting at the door of a tavern near the end of his journey, a lady in a fine carriage drove up. The footman questioned him, told his mistress what he had said, brought him sixpence from her, and arranged to meet him at a certain spot in London. In this way Melville secured cheap, but not very clean or respectable, lodgings. He went every day to the Thames to look for some Dutch ship which would give him a passage, and to talk with Dutch sailors. One day he there met, dressed like a sailor, an old Royalist comrade, by whose advice he called on a Melville kinsman, a Roundhead. The latter, on being satisfied of his identity, embraced him, sent out for good clothes, introduced him to his wife, and advanced him money for his passage. A third Royalist soldier was to join Melville and his friend, but whereas Melville pretended to speak nothing but Dutch, the third man was foolish enough to talk Scotch, whereupon he was arrested.

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* *Collected Sermons of Thomas Fuller*, edited by J. E. Bailey, 1891.

Landing at Rotterdam, Melville went on to Brussels, where Cæsar, now Major-General of the Lorraine troops, welcomed him and promised him the first vacant Captaincy. Cæsar took him to France, but failed to perform his promise, and his wife looked askance on the needy adventurer. When near Paris, therefore, Melville asked for dismissal, and entered the city alone, with money for only two days subsistence. Happily, as he imagined, he was recognised on the morrow by an ex-Captain of the Lorraine troops, who took him to an inn where some acquaintances were regaling themselves. Deep potations led to a quarrel, swords were drawn, and Melville was trying to make peace when the watch came up and seized the whole party. Melville was thrown into a cell, in company with Hamilton, a Scotchman who had come with him to Paris. Every morning a priest came to the prison to say mass, and a nun brought bread, the only food distributed. After a week's detention the two Scotchmen were interrogated, and were told they could be discharged on paying the jailor's fees. But they had no money, and two Jesuits offered to pay their fees on condition of their becoming Catholics. Threats and promises alternated, but the prisoners stood firm. At last the Jesuits ordered the nun to stop the supply of bread, and all that the good woman could do was occasionally, when unobserved, to throw into the cell just enough bread to keep off starvation. So at least Melville thought at the time, but his subsequent belief was that the Jesuits and the nun were in collusion, not intending to starve him to death but only to reduce him to a capitulation. Hamilton's constancy gave way, and Melville was taken to the cell to which he had been removed, to see the ample fare allowed him, but all was ineffectual, and Melville was at length released. He heard nothing more of Hamilton.

During Melville's incarceration the battle at St. Antoine's gate, on the 2nd July, 1652, had been fought, and on account of the ferment in Paris, Cardinal de Retz resolved on having a Scottish body-guard. Melville volunteered to join it, his sole duty being to escort the Cardinal in his drives. The Cardinal took a fancy to him, and on the head of the force re-

signing, promoted him to the post, his pay being thus doubled. But soon, on the young King's return to the city, Retz had to disband his guard. Schomberg, the future hero of the Boyne, who under the Duke of York (the future James II.), commanded the Scottish men-at-arms, then sent for him and despatched him to his winter quarters in Poitou. The country, however, had been devastated, the peasants were reduced to living on chestnuts, and but for game the soldiers would have well-nigh starved.

In 1656 Melville served under Turenne in the relief of Arras. He was next at Quesnoy, where, on a foraging expedition, he was captured by Croats, but his knowledge of Polish procured him an audience of the Colonel, who admitted him to his mess. Mistaken for an Irishman who had deserted, he narrowly escaped being shot, but he was exculpated and ransomed, and rejoined Schomberg. Seeing little prospect of promotion, however, he and a fellow Scot, Mollison, asked for their discharge and went to Konigsberg.

Here I may remark that though sometimes wounded, and though repeatedly disappointed in his hopes of advancement, Melville was never again subjected to privations. The interest of the narrative somewhat falls off. We hear more of battles and sieges, but less of picturesque and affecting incidents. I may therefore pass more rapidly over his military expeditions.

At Konigsberg, while Melville and Mollison were watching the men employed in erecting the citadel, they were introduced to Count Waldeck, who was serving under the Elector of Brandenburg, 'the Great Elector,' Frederick II.'s grandfather, in his alliance with Charles X. of Sweden. Melville's services were accepted by Waldeck, and under a Scottish Colonel—he met fellow-countrymen under every flag—he was employed in levying contributions. One town which closed its gates against him he entered at night through a sewer. While fighting against Casimir, King of Poland, before Warsaw, some Jews deluded him with stories of hidden treasure, and while he was away on one of these bootless quests the town which he should have been watching was entered by Cossacks in the Swedish service, who burnt the

Jewish synagogue, worshippers included, and captured some Polish ladies, whom they would have held to ransom had not the French Ambassador insisted on their release. Count Frederic Waldeck died, but recommended Melville to his brother, Josiah, who commissioned him to raise a cavalry regiment, and sent him to assist Charles X. in Holstein, against the Danes. Cromwell, however, as mediator, effected a peace between them. On returning to Germany Melville heard of Charles II.'s accession, and Waldeck, who had rendered Charles services in his exile, sent him to London to compliment him. Charles had not forgotten Melville, asked what had befallen him at Worcester, and assured him he should ever remember both Waldeck's services and his own, but there, to Melville's disappointment, the embassy ended.

The Emperor Leopold had applied for assistance to all the Princes of the Empire, and even to France also, to drive the Turks out of Hungary, and the Elector of Cologne commissioned Count Josiah to raise a regiment of infantry. The Count wished for Melville as Lieutenant-Colonel, especially as he himself had no experience of infantry, but the Elector had promised the post to someone else. Melville consequently agreed to be Major, but with the pay of Lieutenant-Colonel. His supplanter was ere long killed, and he then succeeded him. After passing the winter in Styria, Melville helped to storm Turkisken. He became Quartermaster-General of the Rhenish division, but a quarrel with the General in command, 'Count Holac,'—a spelling under which it is difficult to recognise Hohenlohe—soon led to his resignation, and but for Waldeck's entreaties he would have quitted the army, in lieu of resuming his former post. Fortunately he soon recovered Hohenlohe's good graces. He was assigned the recapture with 500 men of a position near Kanissa, and here is what passed:—

'I waited till night, and then leaving the town I detached a captain with fifty troopers with instructions to approach the enemy, but to retire as soon as he gave the alarm towards a demilune on my left. My design was to cut off the pursuers between their camp and this demilune, where I lay in ambush. On taking up my position I resolved, according to the advice of the Governor of the town, to put on my armour, but on donning my helmet I found it so cumbersome, especially as it prevented me from hear-

ing, that I took it off and gave it to one of my orderlies, who immediately stuck it on his own head. The captain gave the alarm as directed, but instead of retiring in the direction ordered he came at full gallop towards me, in great disorder, the Turks hotly pursuing him. Although I saw my whole plan foiled by this blunder, I did not let the Turks perceive this, and they were so disconcerted that after killing several I drove the rest back to their camp, and then withdrew in good order towards the town. On approaching it I heard a cry from the ramparts to advance. I supposed it to be an order to turn back towards the enemy, and without reflecting on the rashness of the step I advanced towards a troop of Janissaries who were pursuing me at some distance, and whom I could easily have avoided. My men, who reluctantly followed me, shamefully fled at the first onset and deserted me. I was left in the lurch with my orderly, and the Turks, imagining him to be the officer on account of the helmet, cut off his head, and taking no notice of me, retired. I was fortunate enough to withdraw unperceived, and to find a retired spot, where I passed the rest of the night. At daybreak I presented myself at the town gates, where I was joyfully welcomed, for the soldiers who had deserted me had reported, apparently to excuse their flight, that I had been killed.'

Melville witnessed the raising of the siege of Kanissa,* the siege of Zrinevar by the Turks, and their passage of the Raab at St. Gothard, where entire regiments of the Imperialists, panic struck, allowed themselves to be slaughtered without resistance. 'They contented themselves with loud cries to the Blessed Virgin for help, but the clash of arms,' says Melville with grim irony, 'apparently prevented her from hearing them.' He does not mention the camels, which the Turks, as we know from other sources, had brought with them, nor does he speak of the famous Commander-in-Chief, Montecuculi.†

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* The Turks had held that town since 1600. The Imperialists hoped to reduce it by famine, and on 3 prisoners refusing even under torture to reveal its straits, they were killed, and offal only was found in their stomachs. The officers alone had flour, and horseflesh was the only meat. On the approach of large Turkish reinforcements, the siege was raised, June 1, 1664.

† Alike for the horrors and the romance of the campaign we must turn to Coligny-Saligny, a collateral descendant of the great Coligny. There we read of the river Raab at St. Gothard becoming in a moment a floating cemetery, no water visible, but only a mass of men, arms, and horses. The Imperialists, too weak to pursue the enemy, were busy in stripping the bodies in the river of their jewels and trappings. There too we read

In 1664 peace was concluded, and Melville, presented with a medal by the Emperor, had to conduct his regiment through Vienna and Bohemia back to Bonn. In Bohemia he had to be on his guard against attacks by the peasants, for though he allowed no pillage, he paid them nothing for his requisitions, but gave them drafts on the Elector of Cologne. The latter on his arrival at Bonn presented him with his portrait, set in diamonds, and offered him the governorship of that town on condition of turning Catholic. Declining this, Melville requested Waldeck to recommend him to George William, Duke of Hanover, who, resigning Hanover to his brother John Frederick, took possession of Celle, which had fallen to him by the death of his elder brother, Christian Louis. George William made him Governor of Celle, and refused him permission to accompany his old patrons, Waldeck and Mollison, to Venice, to fight once more against the Turks. Melville was at first chagrined at this, but when Waldeck died on the way was glad that he had been detained. A period of inactivity gave him an opportunity in 1667 of revisiting England:—

'I found King Charles still very courteous and kind, but unable, as he himself naively told me, to do anything for those who had served and succoured him in adversity. It is true that those then most in favour at Court were those who had most contributed to his misfortunes. I admit that it was polite for him to do this, but the consideration shown them was no sufficient reason for paying mere empty compliments to men who had lost their fortunes and repeatedly risked their lives in his service; but it must be added that the good prince had no thought except for his mistresses.'

Despairing of employment in England, Melville returned to Celle, and in 1674 George William despatched him to help the Dutch against the French. The former were trying to recapture Treves, and Marshal Créquy endeavoured to relieve it. At Conzbruck the German cavalry fled in confusion at the first onset of the French, and Melville says:—

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of a Turkish cavalier challenging any Christian to single combat, a challenge accepted by the Chevalier de Lorraine, who in the presence of both armies killed his antagonist.

'Deserted by my regiment I received 18 wounds, and as I had fallen, the French troops passed over me in their pursuit of the fugitives. When all had passed I tried to rise, but know not whether I should have succeeded had it not been for an officer of my regiment who, not having fled like the rest, had been wounded in the arm. He helped me as well as he could, and happily, when we did not know what direction to take, we saw an orderly on horseback, whom the officer recognised as in the service of a captain of my regiment. We immediately hailed him, and he dismounted, put me on his horse, with the officer's assistance, and they took me to a post across the river. I fell from the horse on arriving, loss of blood having weakened me, but my wounds were bound up with a piece of my shirt, a bottle of wine was held to my mouth, which I almost emptied at a draught, and in a moment I felt so strong that it seemed as if I had undergone nothing. . . . I was told at first that we had lost the day, but presently I was assured that we had won it.'

The fact was that the French, too eager in pursuit, had been outflanked, their camp had been captured, and the fugitives rallying, the French had been caught between two fires. Treves surrendered, and Melville continues:—

'Next day my wounds were dressed. They were more serious than I supposed, and I was told that my right hand was lamed for life, but in a month I was well enough to go to the Duke's headquarters and thence to Cologne to complete my cure.'

'Melville did well,' wrote the Duke to his wife, 'but his regiment was defeated.' At Celle in the winter he entirely recovered, and he served in the next campaign against the Swedes. His memoirs virtually end here, but in 1680 he was among the numerous auditors at a conference between Antony Ulrich, Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, and Joachim, general superintendent, a sort of bishop, on an eucharistic dispute which was then disturbing German Protestants. Duke Antony, who became a Catholic in 1710, seems to have had a more serious taste for theological controversy than the Electress Sophia, who thought it good sport to pit an heretical visitor against one of her chaplains, and who was herself so latitudinarian that she is said to have given her daughters no religious teaching till she knew the creed of their expectant husbands. In the winter of 1680 Melville accompanied to England her son, afterwards George I., then twenty years of age, destined to succeed not only his father as Duke of Calenberg,

but his uncle as Duke of Celle, and his distant cousin Anne as King of England. His mother, the Electress Sophia, told Lord Dartmouth that she was once 'likely' to have married her cousin Charles II., but she speaks less positively in her Memoirs, yet during the Civil Wars she was certainly looked upon as the most eligible match for Charles.* She now apparently wished her son to marry the Princess Anne, and Anne was believed to be willing to accept him, but he was suddenly recalled by his father, who had arranged a marriage for him with his cousin Sophia Dorothea. She was the daughter of Eleanor d'Olbreuse, originally the mistress, and eventually the wife, of George William, Duke of Brunswick, his brother Ernest Augustus, Duke and afterwards Elector of Hanover, releasing him from his engagement not to marry, on condition that Sophia Dorothea, the only surviving child, should have no claim to the succession. Poor Sophia Dorothea's alleged intrigue with Königsmark and her thirty-two years of captivity are well known. Curiously enough, Prince George of Denmark had been one of her suitors. Sophia of Hanover was at first strongly opposed to the marriage, despising Sophia Dorothea for her low origin, and she wrote to her niece the Duchess of Orleans, 'It would have been an honour for her had I married her to my head valet;' but in September 1682 she withdrew her opposition. But to return to George and Melville in England. They went to Oxford in February 1681, when the prince was made a D.C.L., and Melville, oddly enough, an M.D. Melville was also knighted by Charles II., though Metcalfe's *Book of Knights* ignores him, just as the Oxford register (but not Anthony Wood) ignores his medical degree.

* Charles paid her attentions at Breda in 1650, and the Royalist refugees in Holland desired the match, as also did her mother, but Sophia suspected the penniless exile of having simply an eye to Lord Craven's large fortune, for she was Craven's favourite, and she consequently avoided Charles. Craven in 1688 was in command of the guard at Whitehall and was anxious to resist William of Orange's soldiers, who came up without warning to displace them; but James II. shrank from using force and went to bed that night under a Dutch guard which, he said, could treat him no worse than his own subjects had done.

In 1683 Melville obtained from Charles a long Latin diploma, which, without being in the form of a pedigree, gave his paternal and maternal descent for several generations, and recommended him to any foreign potentate to whom he might offer his services.* He was apparently not then resigned to ending his days in the comparatively obscure post of Governor of Gifhorn, to which he had been appointed in 1677, or he may have found it necessary to silence contumelious remarks on his lineage. About this time he probably made the acquaintance of Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, second son of the first Earl of Dundonald. Implicated in the Rychouse Plot, Cochrane fled to Holland, and he apparently visited Celle. In 1685 he took part in Argyle's rising, and from Amsterdam on the 23rd April he wrote to Melville, announcing the departure of the expedition, to be followed by Monmouth's landing in England. In this letter he speaks of James II. as an 'apostate Papist who had murdered his brother.' Officers were needed, and he desired Melville to acquaint fellow-countrymen in foreign service that they might be well provided for at home :—

'I dare not invite you [he added], although I am persuaded of your good affection to our cause, the weakness of your body disabling you for the field ; but if you incline to come you shall carve out your own hand. . . . Do me the favour to put my humble service to General Shavott,* and when you see your Prince give my duty to him. . . .

* Chauvet (not Shavott) was a Huguenot refugee in Brunswick, who had been promoted over Melville's head, but whose capacity Melville frankly acknowledges. After campaigns in Portugal and the Palatinate he served the Duke of Brunswick from 1670 to 1693, when he became Field-Marshal in Saxony. He died at a great age in 1696.

Give my service and my son's to your good lady and children, and to Colonel Lamott, his lady and her sister. I pray God bless you for the kindness shown to me.'

How this document, endorsed 'Sir John Cochrane's letter to Sir Andrew Melville, 1685,' came among the Leven papers, it is not easy to understand. Sir William Fraser has printed it without having been able, as he kindly answered my inquiry,

* This is given in full in the *Historische Gemälde*, 1799, and is reprinted in the *Neues Vaterlandisches Archiv*, 1823.

to identify the recipient with the writer of the memoirs, or to trace his tolerably remote connection with the elder branch of the Melville family. One would scarcely have expected to find Melville thus sympathising with two rebellions, Argyle's and Monmouth's, against the Stuart dynasty, from which he had received a knighthood. The reference to his wife and children requires explanations. Baron Melville van Carnbee, the descendant of a branch of the family settled for some centuries in Holland, has been good enough to inform me, but without specifying authorities, that Melville was twice married, first to Nymphe de la Chevalerie (this looks like a fancy name, and suggests a camp follower), and secondly in 1666 to Elizabeth Christina von Medefourt-Beneken. By his second wife he had a son, George Ernest, born at Celle in 1668, and who in 1717 married Lucy von Staffhorsten. George Ernest had three sons and a daughter—one of the sons was probably the 'Ger. Melville,' who was an elder of the French church at Celle in 1723—but all died before their father, who expired at Celle in 1742. The daughter, Fraülein von Melville, was one of the two maids of honour to the Duchess Eleanor, her colleague being a Fraülein von Stafforsten, probably her cousin, and the Duchess in 1722 bequeathed each of them 4000 thalers. Sir Andrew had also a daughter, Charlotte Sophia Anna, who was born in 1670, and in 1690 married Alexander von Schulenberg-Blumberg, ultimately a lieutenant-general in the English army, and Governor of Stade, where he died in 1733. He was probably related to George I.'s mistress, the Duchess of Kendal. His wife predeceased him in 1724. The name of Melville thus became extinct in Germany in 1742. The memoirs, like the diploma, are entirely silent on Melville's marriages.

Pensioned off, as one may say, by his appointment as Governor of the small town of Gifhorn, he wrote his autobiography at the request of the Electress Sophia. The dedication to her, ostensibly written by the Amsterdam publisher, but probably by one of her courtiers, speaks of the book 'as containing instances of valour and courage worthy of a man who has had the honour of serving under princes of your

august house.' It also speaks of his pure and disinterested virtue, nearly always persecuted by blind Fortune, and of his 'ardent zeal for the true religion, to which he has been so much attached that neither promises nor threats have ever been able to shake his faith.' It is a pity that Melville wrote in French, for his French is very colourless, wholly wanting in individuality; but Sophia herself wrote her memoirs in that language, and our Queen Mary wrote to her likewise in French until told that Sophia would prefer English. 'I might have believed,' said Mary in excusing herself, 'that you had not forgotten English.'

Melville complains more than once of want of due appreciation, and he evidently deemed himself qualified for more important posts than were ever assigned him. It is impossible to say whether or not 'blind Fortune' denied him an opportunity of fully displaying his military abilities. He ought, with his varied experiences, to have been a shrewd judge of character, but his book contains few reflections. It is mostly a narrative without comment, but he may have written thus to please his patroness. The tranquility of which he speaks at the close of his work remained unbroken till his death in 1706. He was buried at Gifhorn, and as he had been for nearly thirty years its *drost* or governor, and *oberhauptmann* of the district, a monument was doubtless erected over his remains; but the church was burnt down in 1744.

J. G. Alger.

Art. II.—THE CANADIAN DOMINION AND AUSTRALIAN 'COMMONWEALTH.'

1. *Proceedings of the Colonial Conference, held at Ottawa, Canada, from 28th June to 9th July*, 1894. Ottawa, 1894.
2. *Parliamentary Procedure and Practice, with a Review of the Origin, Growth and Operation of Parliamentary Institutions in Canada.* By J. G. Bourinot, C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L. 2nd edit. Montreal, 1894.

3. *Federal Government in Canada.* Johns Hopkins University Studies. By the same. Baltimore, U.S.A., 1889.
4. *Official Report of the National Australasian Convention Debates (with Draft of Commonwealth of Australia Bill.)* Sydney, N.S.W., 1891.

THE Colonial Conference that was held at Ottawa in the Dominion of Canada, during the summer of 1894, gives us the best possible evidence that colonial statesmanship at the present time has a decided tendency, not towards isolation from the parent State and the establishment of independent nations, but rather towards placing the relations between Great Britain and her colonial possessions on a basis of community of interest. It is also quite certain that so important an assemblage of representatives of the scattered colonies of the Empire must more or less stimulate a deeper interest in the affairs of each other. It was for many reasons a happy idea that this second Colonial Conference—the first having been held in London seven years before—should have met at the political capital of the Canadian Dominion, which occupies a pre-eminent position among the colonial possessions on account of having been the first to carry out successfully a plan of colonial federation. The fact that the Parliament of the Federation was sitting at the time of the conference was a fortunate circumstance from which no doubt the Australasian and South African delegates derived not a little practical benefit. A Federal Parliament, composed of two Houses, in which seven provinces and a vast territory, extending over nearly three million and a quarter of square miles, were represented by upwards of three hundred members, was of itself an object lesson for colonies which still remain politically isolated from each other, and in a very little better position than that occupied by the Canadian provinces thirty years ago, when the Canadians recognised the necessity of close union for commercial and governmental purposes. It is true the federal idea has made some advance in Australasia. A Federal Council has been in existence for a few years for the purpose of enabling the Australian colonies to confer together on various questions of general import; but the experience of the eight years that have passed

since the first meeting of this Council has not been satisfactory in view of the want of co-operation of all the Australian dependencies, and of the very limited scope of its powers. The larger project of a federation, including the whole of the island-continent as well as New Zealand, was fully discussed three years ago in a convention of delegates from all the colonies of Australasia, and a Bill was drafted for the formation of a 'Commonwealth of Australia;' but the measure has not yet been discussed and adopted by the legislatures of the countries interested, although there is no doubt that the scheme is gaining ground among the people, and no great length of time will elapse before we shall see its realization. In South Africa, which has been well described as 'a congeries of British provinces in different stages of dependence, intermixed with protected territories and independent states,' the federal idea has necessarily taken no practical form, and is not likely to do so for many years to come, though something has been gained by the establishment of a customs union between some of the political divisions of a great country with enormous possibilities before it.

No doubt the Australasian and other delegates who visited Canada took away with them some well formed impressions of the value of federal union that will have some effect sooner or later upon the legislation of their respective countries. Travelling, as many of them did, over the Dominion, from the new and flourishing city of Vancouver on the Pacific coast to the ancient capital of Quebec on the St. Lawrence, and even to the old sea-port of Halifax on the Atlantic shores of the maritime provinces, they could not fail to be deeply interested by the great wealth of natural resources and the elements of national strength, which they saw in the rich mineral districts of British Columbia, in the fertile prairies of the North-West, in the cities, towns and agricultural settlements of the premier province of Ontario, in the enterprising and handsome city of Montreal, which illustrates the industrial and commercial enterprise of Canada above all other important centres of population, in the abundant fisheries and mines of the maritime provinces, and in the large facilities that are everywhere given for education, from the common school to the university. But the most instructive fact of Cana-

dian development, in the opinion of statesmen, would be undoubtedly the successful accomplishment of a federal union throughout a vast territory, reaching from ocean to ocean, embracing nearly one-half the Continent of America, inhabited by peoples speaking the languages and professing the religions of England and France, divided by nature into divisions where diverse interests had been created during the century that elapsed between the formation of their separate provincial governments and the establishment of confederation, which has brought them out of their political isolation and given a community of interest to the whole of British North America, except Newfoundland, which has stood selfishly aloof, and is now suffering under conditions of financial and commercial adversity and political embarrassment which could never have occurred had it years ago formed part of the Canadian Federation. Australasian statesmen, who desire to see the federal union of their respective colonies consummated before long, might well reflect that to them the task is much easier of accomplishment than has been the case with Canada, since Australia has not to encounter those national and sectional difficulties which from the outset have always perplexed and hampered Canadian public men.

But it is not the intention of the writer to dwell on this important assemblage of Colonial representatives. His object is to show in this Article some of the sources of the strength of the Canadian federal constitution as well as those elements of weakness which are inherent in every federal union, however carefully devised. Such a review should have some interest not only for Australasians who are halting in the way of federation, especially as it will include a criticism of some features of the constitution of the proposed 'Commonwealth,' but also for Englishmen anxious to study the evidences of colonial development throughout the Empire.

Briefly stated, the strength of the constitutional system of the Canadian Federation depends largely on the following actual conditions:

A permanent and non-elective Executive in the person of the reigning Sovereign of Great Britain who is represented by a Governor-General, appointed for five or six years by the Queen

in Council to preside over the administration of Canadian affairs, and consequently elevated above all popular and provincial influences that might tend to make him less respected and useful in his high position.

The existence of responsible or parliamentary government after the British model.

The careful enumeration of the respective powers of the federal and provincial governments, with the residuum of power expressly placed in the central or general government.

The placing of the appointment of all judges, federal and provincial, in the Dominion Government, and their removal only on the address of the two Houses of the Dominion Parliament, which address can only be passed after full inquiry by a committee into any charges formally laid against a judge.

The reference to the courts of all cases of constitutional conflict or doubt between the Dominion and the Provinces that may arise under the British North America Act of 1867.

These are the fundamental principles on which the security and unity of the federal union of Canada rest; and we shall now proceed to show briefly the reasons for this emphatic opinion.

Canadians have never raised a claim, as some of the Australian colonists have done, that they should be always consulted in the choice by the Sovereign of so important a public functionary as the Governor-General of the dependency. Nor have the Canadians ever demanded the privilege of electing from her own statesmen their Governor-General—a change that was actually pressed by some members of the Australian Convention in 1891. The elective principle has never been applied in the constitutional practice of Canada to administrative, executive, or judicial offices, despite her close neighbourhood to the United States, but has been confined, in accordance with the English system which obtains throughout the Empire, to representatives in parliament or in the municipal councils of the country. Consequently Canadians have been spared the excitement and expense that have followed the adoption of the elective principle in the United States, where the President of the nation, and the Governors of the forty-four States, are elected for short terms of office—the former for four, and the latter from one to four years. Removed

from all political influences, since he does not owe his appointment to Canadian party, exercising his executive powers under the advice of a constitutional ministry, who represent the majority in the legislature, representing what Bagehot called 'the dignified part of the constitution,' the Governor-General is able to evoke the respect and confidence of all classes of the people.

The constitution of Canada, which is known as the British North America Act of 1867, has only enlarged the area of the political sovereignty of the provinces, and given greater scope to their political energy, stimulated for years previously by the influence of responsible government. The federal constitution has left the provinces in the possession of the essential features of that local government which they had fairly won from the parent state since Acadia and Canada were wrested from France, and representative institutions were formally established throughout British North America. In every province there is a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Dominion Government, who in this respect occupies that relation to the provinces which was formerly held by the Imperial authorities. This officer is advised by an Executive Council chosen, as for forty years previously, from the majority of the House of Assembly, and only holding office while they retain the confidence of the people's representatives. In the majority of the provinces there is only one House—the elected Assembly. The legislative councils that existed before 1867 have been abolished in all the legislatures except those of Quebec and Nova Scotia, and in the latter the example of the majority will soon be followed. It is questionable, however, whether it would not have been wiser, in view of the too hasty legislation of such purely democratic bodies as the Lower Houses are becoming under the influence of an extended franchise—manhood franchise existing even in the great English province of Ontario—to have continued the English bicameral system, which even the republican neighbours of Canada have insisted on in every stage of their constitutional development as necessary to the legislative machinery of the nation and of every state of the Union. It would have been much better to have created an Upper House, which would be partly elected by the people, and partly appointed by the Crown,

which would be fairly representative of the wealth, industry and culture of the country, the last being insured by university representation. Such a House would, in the opinion of those who have watched the course and tendency of legislation since the abolition of these upper chambers, act more or less as legislative breakwaters against unsound legislation and chimerical schemes. As it was, however, these second chambers had lost ground in the public estimation through their very inherent weakness, representing, as they did too often, merely the favours of government and the demands of party, and hardly a word of dissent was heard against their abolition. No doubt economical considerations also largely prevailed when it was a question of doing away with these chambers. No doubt, too, when these bodies disappeared from the political constitutions of the provinces, importance was given to the suggestion that the veto given by the federal law to the Dominion Government over the legislation of the provinces did away to a large extent with the necessity for a legislative council, for its *raison d'être*, if we may so express it. But, in the practical working of the federal union, the vehement and persistent assertion of 'provincial rights,' and the general trend of the decisions of the courts to whom questions of jurisdiction have been referred, have tended rather to give a weight and power to the provincial communities that was not contemplated by the leading architects of the federal framework; certainly not by the late Sir John Macdonald, who believed in a strong central government dominating the legislation, and even the administration of the provinces whenever necessary for reasons of urgent Dominion policy. But the powers granted in express terms or by necessary implication to the provincial authorities, take so wide a range, and the several provincial governments, from the inception of the union, have been so assertive of what they consider their constitutional rights, that it has not been possible to minimise their position in the federation. The veto of the Dominion is now rarely exercised; in fact, only in cases where an Act is clearly unconstitutional on its face, and any attempt to interfere with provincial legislation on other ground than its unconstitutionality or illegality, would be strenuously resisted by a province. In view then of the position of the veto,

a subject to which we will again refer, it is to be regretted that there is not still in each of the provinces an influential Upper House, able from the nature of its constitution, and the character and ability of its *personnel*, to initiate legislation and exercise useful control over the acts of a Lower House now perfectly untrammelled, except by the Courts when its legislation comes before them in due course of law. The consequences of the present system must soon show themselves one way or the other. We admit that the fears we entertain may be proved to have no foundation as the union works itself out. On the face of it, however, there is a latent peril in a single chamber, elected under most democratic conditions, liable to fluctuations with every demonstration of the popular will, and left without that opportunity for calm, deliberate second thought that a second chamber of high character would give them at critical times.

In the constitution of the Dominion or Central Government, however, the British North America Act has adhered to the lines of the British system, since it provides for an advisory Council of the Governor-General, chosen from those members of the Privy Council of Canada who have the confidence of the House of Commons; for a Senate of about eighty members, appointed by the Crown from the different provinces; for a House of Commons of two hundred and fifteen * members, elected by the people of the different sections on a basis of population, and on the condition that the number of members given to Quebec by the Constitutional Act shall not be disturbed. The growth of democratic principles is seen in the very liberal Dominion franchise, on the very threshold of manhood suffrage, with limitations of citizenship and residence. The members of the Senate must have a small qualification of personal and real property, and are appointed for life. The remarkably long tenure of power enjoyed by the Conservative party—twenty-three years, since 1867—has enabled it to fill the Upper House with a very large numerical majority of its own friends; and this fact, taken in connection with certain elements of weakness inherent in a

* In the next Parliament the number will be 213, on account of a recent readjustment of representation based on the last census.

chamber which has none of the ancient privileges or prestige of a House of Lords, long associated with the names of great statesmen and the memorable events of English history, has in the course of years created an agitation among the Liberal party for radical changes in its constitution which will bring it more in harmony with the people, give it a more representative character, and at the same time increase its usefulness. This agitation has even proceeded so far as to demand the abolition of the House, but it is questionable if this radical movement is sustained to any extent by the intelligence of the country. On the contrary, public opinion, so far as it has manifested itself, favours the continuation of a second chamber on conditions of larger usefulness in preference to giving complete freedom to the democratic tendencies of an elective body—tendencies, not so apparent at present, but likely to show themselves with the influx of a larger foreign population and the influences of universal suffrage. The Senate, as at present composed, contains many men of ability, and cannot be said to display a spirit of faction despite its preponderance of one party, while for two years back its leaders have seen the necessity of initiating in this chamber a large number of important public measures. The movement for a remodelling of the Senate, however, has not yet taken any definite shape, and is not likely to do so as long as the present Conservative Government remains in power, although the writer is one of those who believe that it ought soon to be strengthened by giving it a more representative character on some such plan as has been suggested in the case of legislative councils in the provinces. Of course no constitutional changes can be made in the body except on an address of the two Houses to the Crown in Parliament.

With experiences of the Canadian Senate and their own legislative councils before them, the framers of the proposed Australian federation have followed the example of the United States and provided for a Senate whose members are elected for six years by the legislatures of the colonies, or parliaments of the Australian States, as they are more ambitiously called in the Bill. The constitutional provisions that govern the House of Lords and Canadian Senate, with respect to the initiation or amendment of taxation, and annual Appropriation Bills are fully

recognised in the Australian draft. Some enlargement of power is, however, given to the proposed Australian Senate in the case of Money Bills, and it is permitted at any stage to return any proposed law, which they may not amend, with a message requesting the omission or amendment of any items or provisions therein. This practice appears to have been followed for some years in South Australia, but in introducing it into their proposed constitution the Convention was very much influenced by a hope that it would give the Upper House larger power and give it some resemblance to the Senate of the United States. But they have forgotten that that great body has long wielded the three elements of authority—executive, legislative and judicial. It goes into executive session on treaties and appointments made by the President, acts as a court of impeachment for the President and high functionaries, and exercises the supreme legislative power of directly amending Money Bills. Until the popular assemblies in Australia are able or willing to give such sovereign powers to an Upper House, it is idle to talk of comparisons with the Senate of the United States.

No doubt the members of the Australian Convention hope that a Senate with a longer tenure of power and an indirect method of popular election, will be to a considerable degree more conservative in its legislation than a more democratic Lower House elected on a short term of three years—one more than the House of Representatives of Congress, and two less than the House of Commons of Canada. Of course some of the Australian colonies have had experience of an elective Upper House, and it is somewhat curious that while they are not prepared to adopt the old system in its entirety in their proposed federal union, the Canadians have returned to an appointed House as preferable to the one they had before 1867,—even so thorough a Radical as the late George Brown, then leader of the Liberal party, earnestly urging the change in the Quebec Convention. When we consider the character of the agitation against Upper Houses, we see that, in the nature of things, Democracy is ever striving to remove what it considers barriers in the way of its power and will. An Upper House, under modern political conditions, is likely to be unpopular with the radical and socialistic

elements of society unless it is elective. As the Australians are obviously admirers of the American federal constitution, from which they copy the constitution of their Upper Chamber, we direct their attention to the fact that an agitation has already commenced in the United States, and indeed has made much headway, to change the present indirect method of electing Senators, and to give their election directly to the people. It says something, however, for the Conservative and English instincts of the Australians that they have not yielded to the full demands of democracy, but have recognised the necessity of an Upper House in any safe system of her Parliamentary Government.

We see, accordingly, in the central and provincial constitutions of Canada the leading principles of the British system—a permanent executive, responsible ministers, and a parliament or legislature, following directly the British model of two Houses in the central government, but varying from all other countries of English institutions in the majority of the provinces. In the enumeration of the legislative powers given to the Dominion and provincial legislatures, an effort was made to avoid the conflicts of jurisdiction that so frequently arose between the national and State governments of the Federal Republic. In the first place, we have a recapitulation of those general or national powers that properly belong to a central authority. On the other hand, the provinces have retained control over municipal institutions, property, and civil rights, and generally 'all matters of a merely local or private nature in the province.' It will be remembered that the national or general Government of the United States is alone one of enumerated powers, whilst the several States have expressly reserved to them the residuum of power not in express terms or by necessary implication taken away from them. In their anxiety to avoid the sectional and State difficulties that arose from these very general provisions, and to strengthen by constitutional enactment the central Government of the Dominion, the framers of the British North America Act placed the residuary power in the Parliament of Canada.

But despite the earnest efforts made by the Canadians to prevent troublesome questions of jurisdiction too constantly arising

between the general and provincial Governments, the Courts have been steadily occupied for a quarter of a century in adjusting the numerous constitutional disputes that have arisen in due course of law under the Union Act. Discussions are frequently arising in the legislative bodies on the varied interpretation that can be given to the constitution on these very points of constitutional procedure and jurisdiction which the framers of the Federal Union thought they had enumerated with great care. But it is in this very reference to the Courts that the strength of a written instrument of a Federal Government lies. In Canada, as in all other countries inheriting English law, there is that great respect for the judiciary which enables the people to accept its decisions, when they would look with suspicion on the Acts of purely political bodies.

Cases involving constitutional questions may be tried in any of the Courts of the provinces, with the right of appeal to the federal Supreme Court, and finally, under certain limitations, to the British Privy Council. The judgments of the Judicial Committee have been always received with the respect due to the learning of so high a Court, and on the whole have given satisfaction, though there have been occasions when the lay, and even the legal, mind has been a little perplexed by somewhat contradictory decisions, apparently arising from the difficulty of some of the judges to comprehend what are largely provincial issues. The tendency of the judgments of the Courts has been decidedly towards strengthening the provincial entities, and minimising to a certain extent the powers of the central authorities. For instance, the Judicial Committee has gone so far as to lay it down most emphatically—

'That when the Imperial Parliament gave the provincial legislatures exclusive authority to make laws on certain subjects enumerated in the Act of Union, it conferred powers not in any sense to be exercised by delegation from, or as agents of, the Imperial Parliament, but authority as plenary and as ample within the limits prescribed by the section (92) as the Imperial Parliament, in the plenitude of its power, possesses or could bestow.'

It is a question whether the Judicial Committee, however ably constituted, would not find its usefulness increased by the

membership of a great colonial lawyer, who would bring to his duties not only legal acumen and judicial fairness, but a comprehension of the nature and methods of government which one does not expect from a European judge, who acts within the narrow path traced for him by ordinary statutes.* As long as the imperial court is composed of men of the highest learning, and it is very rarely this is not the case, it is a positive advantage to the people of Canada, and of all the other dependencies of the Crown, to have its independent decision on constitutional questions of moment. In the Australian Convention, doubts were expressed as to the necessity of this reference when the new federation will have a supreme court of its own, but it would be a serious mistake to ask the Crown to give up entirely the exercise of a prerogative so clearly in the interests of the Empire at large. To quote the apt words of Sir Henry Wrixon:—

'At present it is one of the noblest characteristics of our empire that over the whole of its vast area, every subject, whether he be black or white, has a right of appeal to his Sovereign. That is a grand link for the whole of the British Empire. But it is more than that. It is not, as might be considered, a mere question of sentiment, although I may say that sentiment goes far to make up the life of nations. It is not merely that; *but the unity of final decision preserves a unity of law over the whole Empire.*'

The words we have given in italics are unanswerable, and it is unfortunate, we think, such arguments did not prevail in the convention to the fullest extent. That body, in this as in other matters, appears to have been largely influenced by a desire to make Australia independent of England as far as practicable, and the majority were only at the last persuaded to adopt a clause providing for a modified reference to the Queen in Council of cases 'in which the public interests of the commonwealth or of any state, or any other part of the Queen's dominions are concerned.' We hope, however, before the constitution is finally adopted, all the limitations on the exercise of this royal prerogative in the dependency will be removed.

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* Professor Bryce in *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I., p. 339 (1st Edition). See also his remarks on the two literal constructions placed at times on the B.N.A. Act by the Judicial Committee. *Ibid.* P. 509.

When we consider the influence of the courts on the Canadian federal union we can see the wisdom of the provision which places the appointment, payment and removal of the federal as well as provincial judges in the hands of the Dominion Government. It may be said, indeed, that by their appointment and permanency of tenure, all the judges of Canada are practically federal, though the organisation of the provincial courts rests with the provincial governments. The consequence is the provincial judges are removed from all the influences that might weaken them were they mere provincial appointments. In the United States the constitution provides for federal judges, who are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. At the present time out of the forty-four states thirty elect the judges and the officers of the courts by a popular vote. The federal judiciary has always held a far higher position in the estimation of the intelligence of the country than the elective judiciary of the States since the mode of appointment, permanency of tenure, and larger scope of duties have attracted the best legal talent. It is admitted by American thinkers and publicists, who are not politicians but can speak their honest opinion, that the system has been most unfavourable to the selection of men of the best ability, and the exhibition of courage and fidelity in the discharge of their important functions. Judicial decisions have been wanting in consistency, and constantly fluctuating and feeble. Men of inferior reputation have been able, by means of political intrigue and most unprofessional conduct, to obtain seats on the bench. Confidence in the impartiality of judges is sensibly lessened when it is the party machine that elects, and professional character and learning count for comparatively little. If the interpretation of the constitution had depended exclusively on this state judiciary, the results would have been probably most unfavourable to the stability of the Union itself, but, happily for its best interests, the men who framed the fundamental law of the republic wisely provided for federal judges, removed from the corrupt and degrading influences of election contests, and made them the chief legal exponents of the written instrument of government.

It is therefore a happy circumstance for Canada that all its

judges are entirely independent of political influences, as well as of the fluctuating conditions of a narrow range of provincialism. As exponents of the constitution the Dominion judiciary has greater elements of strength than the judiciary of the United States, since it is federal from a most important point of view, while that of the latter country is divided between nation and states. In another respect the Canadian government has made a step in advance of their neighbours, with the view of obtaining a reasoned opinion from the higher courts in cases of legal doubt and controversy between the central and provincial governments, and between the provinces themselves. The Governor in Council may refer to the supreme court for hearing and argument, important questions of law or fact touching provincial legislation or any other constitutional matter, and the opinion of the court, although advisory only, is, for all purposes of appeal to Her Majesty in Council, treated as a final judgment between the parties. No such provision exists in the case of the federal judiciary at Washington, which can be called upon only to decide controversies brought before it in a legal form, and is therefore bound to abstain from an extra-judicial opinion upon points of law, even though solemnly requested by the executive. A similar provision exists in Ontario for a reference to the provincial courts, and the question may be fully argued, a provision that does not exist in the few states of the federal republic, where the legislative department has been empowered to call upon the judges for their opinion upon the constitutional validity of a proposed law.

We have dwelt at some length on these carefully devised methods of obtaining a judicial and reasoned opinion on cases of constitutional controversy with the view of showing that they are recognised as the best means of arriving at a satisfactory solution of legal difficulties that cannot be settled on the political arena. The necessity of making the courts in every way possible the arbiters in such cases is clearly shown by the history of the veto given by the British North American Act to the Government of the Dominion over the legislation of the provinces. From its history so far, it is clear that the exercise of this power is viewed with great jealousy and may at any moment

lead to serious complications by creating antagonisms of much gravity between the central and provisional governments. It is now, however, becoming a convention of the constitution that the Dominion authorities should not interfere with any provincial legislation that does not infringe the fundamental law; that the only possible excuse for such interference would be the case of legislation clearly illegal or unconstitutional, on the face of it, unjust to any class or section of the people, or dangerous to the security and integrity of the Dominion or of the Empire. It is now deemed the wisest policy to leave as far as possible all questions of constitutional controversy to the action of the courts by the methods that the law, as we have already shown, provide to meet just such emergencies. In ordinary cases, however, where there is an undoubted conflict with powers belonging to the central government, where the province has stepped beyond its constitutional authority, the veto continues to be exercised with much convenience to all the parties interested. It must be admitted that on the whole the authorities of the Dominion have exercised this sovereign power with discretion, but it must be admitted that it may be at any time a dangerous weapon in the hands of an unscrupulous and reckless central administration when in direct antagonism to a provincial government, and it can hardly be considered one of the elements of strength, but rather a latent source of weakness, in the federal structure.

No doubt the experience of the Canadians in the exercise of the veto power, has convinced the promoters of the proposed federal union of Australia that it would be unwise to incorporate it in their draft constitution, which simply provides that 'when a law of a state is inconsistent with a law of the commonwealth, the latter shall prevail, and the former shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be invalid.' The political government of the federation is given no special authority to act under this clause, and declare any 'state' legislation unconstitutional by a proclamation of the Governor General as is done in Canada, but the provision must be simply a direction to the courts, which also, in the proposed 'commonwealth,' are to have all the legitimate authority that is essential to the satisfactory operation of a federal system.

Some of the members of the Australian Convention, however, have seen a means of controlling 'state' legislation in the following provision.

'5. All references or communications, required by the constitution of any state or otherwise to be made by the Governor of the state to the Queen, shall be made through the Governor General, as Her Majesty's representative in the commonwealth, and the Queen's pleasure shall be made known through him.'

This section was severely criticised by the advocates of 'state rights' in the Convention, but it is certainly necessary unless we are to see the strange spectacle presented at all times, of the general and state governments communicating separately with the imperial authorities, who would soon become thoroughly perplexed, while the federation would constantly find itself plunged into difficulties. By means of one channel of intercourse, however, some order will be maintained in the relations between Britain and the proposed federation. It is quite true that the clause does not say, as it was urged by more than one prominent member of the Convention, 'that the executive authority of the commonwealth shall have the right to veto any Bill passed by the different states, or even to recommend Her Majesty to disallow such Bill;' but there is nothing to prevent the Governor-General, as an Imperial officer, from making such comments in his despatches to the Secretary of State for the Colonies as he may deem proper and necessary; indeed, it is his constitutional duty to do so, when he transmits the Acts of the respective 'states' to the Queen in Council for approval or disapproval—also such Acts continuing to be so referred as at present. Of course the Imperial Government is not likely to interfere with strictly local legislation any more than they do now; all they ever do is to disallow colonial legislation that conflicts with imperial acts or imperial obligations. It is quite clear that this provision is for the advantage of the Empire at large, and necessary for the unity and harmony of the federation. Some means must exist for the instruction of the imperial authorities as to the relations between the Central and State Governments, and as to the character and bearing of state legislation; and the Governor-General is bound to avail himself of the opportunity the clause in ques-

tion gives him of promoting the best interests of the Australian union.

When we come to consider the subject of Education—one of the matters placed under the direct control of the provincial Governments—we see again the difficulties that always arise in connection with questions involving religious and sectional considerations. In the formation of the constitution it was necessary to give guarantees to the Roman Catholics or minority of Ontario, and to the Protestants or minority of Quebec, that the sectarian or separate schools, in existence at the union, should not be disturbed by any subsequent legislation of their respective provinces. It is consequently enacted in the fundamental law that, while the legislature of a province may exclusively make laws on the subject of Education, nothing therein shall prejudicially affect any denominational schools in existence before July, 1867. An appeal lies to the Governor-General in Council from any act of the provincial authority affecting any local right or privilege that the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority enjoyed at the time of the union. In case the provincial authorities refuse to act for the due protection of the rights of minorities, in accordance with the constitution, then the Parliament of Canada may provide in this behalf.

As a result of a recent decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council the Government of Manitoba have been called upon by the Dominion Executive to repeal certain legislation which the former body considered an infringement of educational privileges enjoyed before 1890 by the Roman Catholic minority of the province; and the attention of the people of Canada is now turned towards its legislature to see whether they will obey the 'remedial order,' or whether it will be necessary to have recourse to the supreme power of the Canadian parliament in the matter. The question is one of much gravity, inasmuch as it is admitted—the Judicial Committee have so decided—that the Acts of Manitoba on the subject of education are perfectly constitutional. It is a question to be determined only in a spirit of compromise and conciliation. In all such matters involving constitutional issues, the safest policy no doubt is to obey the decisions of the courts, so far as they are consonant with provincial

rights and the best interests of the Dominion. All these questions show some of the difficulties that are likely to impede the satisfactory operation of the Canadian federal system, and the projected Australian federation is fortunate in not having similar intensified differences of race and religion to contend with. Its constitution leaves all educational and purely local matters to the exclusive jurisdiction of the 'States,' and does not make provision for the exercise of that delicate power of remedial legislation which is given to the Canadian parliament to meet conditions of injustice to creed or nationality.

Throughout the structure of the Canadian federation we see the influence of French Canada. The whole tendency of imperial as well as colonial legislation for over a hundred years has been to strengthen this separate national entity, and give it every possible guarantee for the preservation of its own laws and religion. The first step in this direction was the Quebec Act of 1774, which relieved the Roman Catholics of Canada from the political disabilities under which they had suffered since the Conquest. Seventeen years later what is known as the imperial 'Constitutional Act' of 1791 created two provinces, Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec), with the avowed object of separating the two races into two distinct territorial divisions. From 1792 until 1840 there was a 'war of races' in French Canada, and after the revolt of 1837-8 the two provinces were re-united, with the avowed object of weakening French Canadian influence. As a matter of fact, however, the political history of Canada, from 1841 to 1867, shows the strength of a largely and closely welded French Canadian people, jealous of their institutions and their nationality. Eventually government came to a deadlock in consequence of the difficulties between political parties striving for the supremacy. These difficulties, arising from the antagonism of nationalities, led to the federation of all the provinces, and to the giving of additional guarantees for the protection of French Canadian interests. In the Senate, Quebec has a representation equal to that of English Ontario, with nearly double the population, with the condition that each of its twenty-four members shall be chosen from each of the divisions of the province—a

condition intended to insure French Canadian representation to the fullest extent possible. In the adjustment of representation in the House of Commons, from time to time, the proportion of sixty-five members, given by the Union Act to Quebec, cannot be disturbed. The jurisdiction given to the provinces over civil rights and property, and the administration of justice except in criminal matters, was chiefly the work of French Canada, whose people have since 1774 accepted the criminal law of England, but have not been willing to surrender their civil code, based on the *Coutume de Paris*, which they have derived from their French ancestors. Both the French and English languages are used in the debates, records, and journals of the parliament of the Dominion and the legislature of Quebec. It would be difficult to conceive a constitution more clearly framed with the view of protecting the special institutions of one race, and perpetuating its separate existence in the Dominion. Of course the industrial energy of the British people, and the necessity of speaking the language of the British majority, has to a certain extent broken down the barriers that language imposes between nationalities, and it is only in the isolated and distant parishes of Quebec that we find persons who are ignorant of English. The political consequences of the legislation of the past century have been to cement the French Canadian nationality—to make it, so to speak, an *imperium in imperio*, a supreme power at times in the Dominion. It must be admitted that, on the whole, rational and judicious counsels have prevailed among the cultured and ablest statesmen of French Canada at critical times, when rash agitators have attempted to stimulate sectional and racial animosities and passions for purely political ends. The history of the two outbreaks of the half-breeds in the North-west, and of the recent school legislation in Manitoba, so far as it has gone, show the deep interest taken by French Canadians in all matters affecting their compatriots and co-religionists, and the necessity for caution and conciliation in working out the federal union. The federal constitution has been largely moulded in their interest, and the security and happiness of the Canadian Dominion in the future must greatly depend on their determination to adhere to the letter as well as to the spirit of this

important instrument. It is for French Canada, above all other provinces, to maintain the principle of local autonomy and the undoubted legislative rights of a province, whenever an emergency arises in other sections.

When we compare the British North America Act of Canada with the draft of the Bill to constitute the federation of Australia, which was the result of the convention of 1891, we must be impressed by the fact that the former appears more influenced by the spirit of British ideas than the latter, which has copied many of the features of the constitution of the United States. In the preamble of the Canadian Act we find expressly stated, 'the desire of the Canadian provinces to be federally united with a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom,' while, on the other hand, we read in the draft of the Australian Bill only a bald statement of an agreement 'to unite in one federal Commonwealth under the Crown.' Although the word 'Commonwealth' has a general application to a body politic governed on popular principles, yet the memory of the majority of persons will go back to a trying and unfortunate period of British history. All of us will remember that Professor Bryce, in his elaborate criticism of the *republican* constitution of the United States, could find no more expressive title for his work than the 'American Commonwealth.' When we consider this fact in connection with the word 'State' instead of 'Provinces,' of 'House of Representatives'* instead of House of Commons,' of 'Executive Council' instead of 'Privy Council,' we may well wonder why the Australians, all English by birth, origin, and aspiration, should have departed from the precedents established by Canada, only partly English, with the view of carving ancient historic names on the very

*The present popular house of New Zealand is called a 'House of Representatives,' and this is not strange when we recall the republican principles of Sir George Grey, who is an earnest advocate of elected Governors-General, and other republican practices. But this eccentric colonial statesman does not appear to be responsible for the phraseology of the proposed constitution. The debates of the convention, of which he was a member, show that the majority desired to make their new constitution a copy, as far as practicable, of that of the United States.

front of their political structure. It would be perhaps quite in accord with the ambitious aspirations of Australians were they to substitute 'United Australia' for a word of dubious and even republican significance. In leaving to the 'States' the right of appointing or electing their 'Governors'—not Lieutenant-Governors, as in Canada—we see also the desire to follow the methods of the States of the American Republic; and we may be sure that, when once the Commonwealth is in operation, it will not be long before the heads of the executive authority will be chosen by popular vote, and we shall see the commencement of an extension of the democratic elective principle to all State, administrative, executive, and even judicial, officers, now appointed by the Crown, under the advice of a ministry responsible to Parliament for every appointment, and other act of administrative and executive authority.

We see the same American influence in the provision that 'when a law (*sic*) passed by the Parliament' (*sic*) is presented to the Governor-General 'for the Queen's assent,' he may 'return it to the Parliament (*sic*) with amendments which he may desire to have been made in such law' (*sic*). One cannot understand the reasoning which justifies the giving of such a power to the executive head; it is quite irreconcilable with the principles and practice of responsible government. He must, in all cases affecting the government of the colony, act under the advice of ministers. In this case, however, he is to assume the position held by similar officers before there was a Ministry responsible to him and the two Houses for all legislation. We also humbly inquire how a Bill can become 'a law' before it has received the assent of the Queen, through the Governor-General. When did Parliament mean only the two Houses in any legal or constitutional document? Such loose phraseology might do for common parlance, but not for a proposed statute, where in a former clause Parliament is properly said to 'consist of Her Majesty, a Senate, and a house of representatives.' We think that here, at least, the Australian draftsmen of the Bill might advantageously have copied the correct language of the American Republican Constitution, which never uses 'law' in so incorrect a sense, if they were not prepared to accept the British North American Act as

their model, though it was prepared under so high an authority as Lord Thring.

We see also an imitation of the constitution of the United States in the Australian provisions, making the central Government alone one of enumerated powers, and leaving the residuary power in the 'States.' The word 'parliament' is also generally applied to the legislative bodies of the Federal and State Governments—another illustration of the dominant influence of the colonies—hereafter 'States'— in the proposed constitution. Again, while the Bill provides for a Supreme and other Federal Courts to be appointed and removed by the authorities of the Commonwealth—and the influence of the American example is seen in the very language setting forth the powers of these judicial bodies—the 'State' Governments are to have full jurisdiction over the 'State' Courts. The federal judges can be removed, as in Canada, only by a successful impeachment in Parliament, and an address of the two Houses to the Governor-General in Council, and as long as the present constitution of the Australian colonies remains unchanged, the 'State' judges can be removed only by the action of the 'State Parliaments.' The Canadian constitution in this respect appears to give greater security for an independent and stable judiciary, since a Government operating on a larger sphere of action is likely to make better appointments than a smaller and less influential body within the range of provincial jealousies, rivalries, and factions. Indeed, it is not going too far to suppose that, with the progress of democratic ideas—already rife in Australia—we may have repeated the experience of the United States, and elective judges make their appearance in 'States' at some time when a wave of democracy has swept away all dictates of prudence, and given unbridled license to professional political managers only anxious for the success of party.

As respects any amendment of the constitution after its adoption, the Australians have also practically copied the American constitutional provision that, whenever two-thirds of the House of Congress, or of the legislatures of the several States, shall deem amendment necessary, it shall be submitted to a convention, and form part of the constitution when ratified

by the legislatures, or conventions of three-fourths of the States, as Congress may determine at the time. The Australian Bill permits an amendment to be proposed by an absolute majority of the two Houses of the Parliament of the Commonwealth, and then submitted to conventions of the several States, but it must be ratified by conventions of a majority of States who represent a majority of the people of the federation before it can be submitted to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent. The Canadian constitution may be amended in any particular, where power is not expressly given for that purpose to the parliament or legislatures, by an address of the Canadian Senate and Commons to the Queen—in other words, by the Imperial Parliament that enacted the original act of union—and without any reference whatever to the people voting at an election or assembled in a convention. Of course it may be said that the reference to the imperial authorities will not be much of a restraint on amendment inasmuch as it is not likely that a Parliament, already overburdened by business, will show any desire to interfere with the expression of the wishes of the Canadian Houses on a matter immediately affecting the Canadians themselves. So far there have been only three amendments made by the Imperial Parliament to the British North America Act in twenty-seven years, and these were simply necessary to clear up doubts as to the powers of the Canadian Houses. This fact says much for the satisfactory operation of the Canadian constitution as well as for the discretion of Canadian statesmen. The Canadian constitution in this particular clearly recognises the right of the supreme Parliament of the Empire to act as the arbiter on occasions when independent, impartial action is necessary; to discharge that duty in a legislative capacity which the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council now performs as the supreme court of all the dependencies of the Crown. The Australians propose to make themselves entirely independent of the action of a great parliament which might be useful in some crisis affecting deeply the integrity and unity of Australia, and to give full scope only to the will of democracy expressed in popular conventions. It is quite possible that the system will work smoothly, and even advantageously, though we should have pre-

ferred on the whole to see less readiness on the part of British colonies to reproduce republican ideas and methods of government.

It is an interesting, and to Englishmen everywhere, an encouraging fact that the Canadian people, despite their neighbourhood to a great and prosperous federal commonwealth, should not, even in the most critical and gloomy periods of their history, have shown any disposition to mould their institutions directly on those of the United States and lay the foundation for future political union. Previous to 1840, which was the commencement of a new era in the political history of the provinces, there was a time when discontent prevailed throughout the Canadas, but never did any large body of the people threaten to sever the connection with the parent state. The Act of Confederation was framed under the direct influence of Sir John Macdonald and Sir George Cartier, and although one was an English Canadian and the other a French Canadian, neither yielded to the other in the desire to build up a Dominion on the basis of British institutions in the closest possible connection with the mother country. While the question of union was under consideration, British Liberal statesmen and writers alone predicted that the new federation, with its great extent of territory, its abundant resources, and ambitious people, would eventually form a new nation independent of England. Canadian statesmen never spoke or wrote of separation, but regarded the constitutional change in their political condition as giving them greater weight and strength in the Empire. The influence of Britain on the Canadian Dominion can be seen throughout its governmental machinery, in the system of parliamentary government, in the constitution of the Privy Council and the Houses of Parliament, in an independent judiciary, in appointed officials of every class —in the provincial as well as Dominion system—in a permanent and non-political civil service, and in all elements of sound administration. During the twenty-seven years that have passed since 1867, the attachment of Canada to her British institutions has gained in strength, and it is clear that those predictions of Englishmen, to which we have referred, are completely falsified so far, and the time is not at hand for the separation of Canada

from the Empire. On the contrary, the dominant sentiment is for strengthening the ties that have in some respects become weak in consequence of the enlargement of the political rights of the Dominion, which has assumed the position of a semi-independent Power, since Britain now only retains her imperial Sovereignty by declaring peace or war with foreign nations, by appointing a Governor-General, by controlling Colonial legislation through the Queen in Council and the Queen in Parliament, but not so as to diminish the rights of self-government conceded to the Dominion, and by requiring the making of all treaties with foreign countries through her own Government, while recognising the right of the dependency to be consulted and directly represented on all occasions when its interests are immediately affected. In no respect have the Canadians followed the example of the United States and made their executive entirely separate from the legislative authority. On the contrary, there is no institution which works more admirably in the federation—in the general as well as provincial governments—than the principle of making the ministry responsible to the popular branch of the legislature, and in that way keeping the executive and legislative departments in harmony with one another, and preventing that conflict of authorities which is a distinguishing feature of the very opposite system that prevails in the Federal Republic. If we review the amendments made of late years in the political constitution of the United States, and especially those ratified quite recently in New York, we see in how many respects the Canadian system of government is superior to that of the republic. Of course in the methods of party government we can see in Canada at times attempts to follow the example of the United States, and introduce the party machine with its professional politicians and all those influences that have degraded politics since the days of Jackson and Van Buren. Happily, so far, the people of Canada have shown themselves fully capable of removing those blots that show themselves from time to time on the body politic. Justice has soon seized those men who have betrayed their trust in the administration of public affairs. Although Canadians may, according to their political proclivities, find fault with the

methods of governments, and be carried away at times by political passion beyond the bounds of reason, it is encouraging to find that all are ready to admit the high character of the judiciary for learning, integrity and incorruptibility. The records of Canada do not present a single instance of the successful impeachment or removal of a judge for improper conduct on the bench since the days of responsible government, and the three or four petitions laid before Parliament since 1867, asking for an investigation into vague charges against some judges, have never required a judgment of the Houses. Canadians built wisely when, in the formation of their constitution, they followed the British plan, of having an intimate and invaluable connection between the executive and legislative departments, and of keeping the judiciary practically independent of the other authorities of government. Not only the life and property of the people but the satisfactory working of the whole system of federal government rests more or less on the discretion and integrity of the judges. Canadians are satisfied that the peace and security of the whole Dominion do not depend more on the ability and patriotism of statesmen in the legislative halls than on that principle of the constitution which places the judiciary in an exalted position among all the other authorities of government, and makes law as far as possible the arbiter of their constitutional conflicts. All political systems are very imperfect at the best, legislatures are constantly subject to currents of popular prejudice and passion, statesmanship is too often weak and fluctuating, incapable of appreciating the true tendency of events, and too ready to yield to the force of present circumstances and to dictates of expediency; but law, as worked out on British principles in all the dependencies of the Empire—as understood by Marshall, Story, and Kent, and other great masters of constitutional and legal learning—gives the best possible guarantee for the security of institutions in a country of popular government.

J. G. Bourinot.

Art. III.—FRAGMENTS OF CAITHNESS FOLK-LORE.

THE Folk-Lore Society has done much admirable work since its inception twenty years ago. In almost every part of the world persons are now engaged in collecting, collating, and comparing legends, popular customs and sayings, in order that light may be thrown upon events of the past and beliefs of the present. The ardent folk-lorist investigates in true scientific fashion; scrupulous heed is given to every detail and variation, infinite pains are taken to separate, as far as may be, the ancient myth from the modern overgrowth. It is well that a systematic effort of this kind was instituted in time to rescue many of the oral traditions from the inevitable destruction which awaited them—the destruction incidental to the prevalence of the railroad, the school board, and the nineteenth century spirit of questioning. The rational claim advanced by many eminent folk-lorists that the study should be ranked as a science, is, however, coincident with the disappearance of not a little of romance. It is difficult for attention to be concentrated upon the lessons of folk-lore, and at the same time to preserve a keen appreciation of the colour, the picturesque suggestiveness of those old-world thoughts and beliefs which have for generations been guarded by the unlettered, and whose emotional roots stretch back into the past. Analysis and romance are to a great extent incongruous. To employ the one, we must, almost of necessity, forego the other.

No attempt is made in this paper to investigate scientifically the lore of the North. The aim of the writer is to recall, and present simply, a few fragments from that great storehouse of popular wisdom and tradition.

The Celt of the Western Highlands and the Isles preserves his hold on the past largely by means of that elemental imagination, and that ardent love of his birthplace and all connected therewith, which are his dominant characteristics. The folk of Caithness, Sutherland, and the Northern Isles, on the other hand, treasure with a quiet simplicity the lore which has come down to them, with also an unquestioning faith that is touch-

ing as well as beautiful. The modern spirit is here confronted by barriers of old-world wisdom, of prejudice if one will, which, unimportant as they may seem, have incalculable powers of resistance.

From the shepherd who spends his days on the wide moors of Caithness, from the fisher who plies his craft on the turbulent water of the Pentland Firth, from the midwife who, almost destitute of modern knowledge, attends with marvellous skill alike at cottage and farmstead, from these people and such as these the writer has gleaned much that is here set down.

Caithness (Gaelic *Gollabh*), Catteynes, the Land of the Stranger, and Suderland, the South Land, are steeped in strange superstitions, some traceable to Norse, others to Celtic influence. The lone, wind-swept home of the Clan of the Catts, with its miles of moorland and peat fields, its bold rocky coast, this county, with Sutherland, and the groups of islands to the north, are in a peculiar sense the home of folk-lore, legend, myth, and peasant wisdom. To this day the older members of the fishing community take off their bonnets as they row past the Head of Whailagoe, and thus express, in their simple way, the deep reverence which they feel for the 'great mither' on whose breast they are tossed. The lassies of Freswick dress their hair before sunrise on pain of causing their sweethearts to be lashed with these silken tresses by the evil kelpies of the pool. The farmer of to-day lights the bonfire at midnight on New Year's Eve, and passes his kye through the flames to secure them from disease, while the herd-boys jump over the flaming peats for good luck. Changeling children are regarded with the same awe as of old, and witches, elfins, and sprites can, it is said, be discerned around the Maiden Paps weaving the threads of fate.

From birth-time to death, dwellers in the remote north-country are more or less subject to the fantastic and frequently contradictory precepts of folk-lore. In some districts it is customary to fry a bannock, which, with a Bible, is placed under the pillow of the woman who has just given birth to a child; a fir candle is then lighted and whirled three times over the bed, while the watchers call down a blessing in these words:

'May the Almichty debar a' ill fae this ooman, an' be aboot ir, an' bless ir an' ir bairn.' Pieces of bannock are afterwards distributed among the friends who have assembled to wish well to mother and child. The greater the number of well-wishers, the greater the happiness of the child in after life. There still lingers a widespread belief that the 'fair folk' or 'gweed neebors,' as the fairies are called, have a craving for human milk, and during the first days of convalescence a mother must be zealously guarded lest one of the 'wee people' come and rob the child of its nourishment. Sometimes they succeed in carrying off a mother. Tradition tells of the wife of a farmer who was spirited to the palace of the fairies in a large cave on a remote part of the Caithness coast. Notwithstanding the kindness of the fair folk, the woman pined for her home, and offered as a ransom the finest milk cow in her gweed man's byre: she was permitted to return to the homestead, and the cow was led to the fairy hillock. It disappeared, but, later, returned *eel* and weak. On occasions, too, the child is stolen, for have not the fairies once in every seven years to pay 'the teind to hell'? They then endeavour to sacrifice a human babe rather than one of their own number. A north country fisher had a fine child. One evening a beggar woman entered the hut and went up to the cradle to gaze into the eyes of the babe. From that time good health left it, a strange look came into its face, and the mother was troubled. An old man begging for food passed that way. When he caught sight of the child, he cried, 'That's nae a bairn; its an image, and the gweed folk has stoun his speerit.' Thereupon he set to work to recall the fisher's bairn. A peat fire was heaped high on the hearth and a black hen held over it at such a distance that it was singed and not killed. After some struggling the hen escaped up the lum. A few moments elapsed, and then the parents were gladdened by the sight of a happy expression once more on the child's face. It throve from that day forward.

The young mother of the north is beset with a host of difficulties; to forget one only of the birthtide precepts is to induce an evil of some kind. For example, if the child be a boy,

he must be wrapped in a woman's gown, if a girl, a man's garment should be used: otherwise the children can never marry. Again, the palms of a new-born infant must not be touched with water, or poverty will be his lot. Occasionally, a piece of live peat is thrown into the washing vessel, and the water after use is poured at the base of the cottage walls, or drunk to strengthen the memory; in these ways a happy future is assured to the child. Grave concern is felt for children of different sexes who are to be baptised at the same time: if, by any chance, the minister sprinkles the boy first, his beard will remain in the water and be transferred to the girl. In Orkney, Caithness, and Sutherland, a child is said to be 'forespoken' if sickness come without visible cause. The spell may be worked by an evil minded person using such a phrase as 'He's a bonny bairn,' without adding, 'God save the wee thing.' One charm for this must be repeated over a vessel of water:—

> 'Father, Son, Holy Ghost,
> Bitten sall they be
> Wha have bitten thee!
> Care to their near vein,
> Until thou getst thy health again,
> Mend thou in God's name!'

Again, many 'howdies' guard an infant from being 'forespoken' by passing it three times through the mother's petticoat, or by placing a heart-shaped brooch on the back of its little robe. Douce nurses are full of strange ideas concerning the 'bit girlies and laddies' under their charge. According to some, a child does not break the fairy spell until it has sneezed once, and the greatest concern is evinced until this sign of good omen takes place. A wise 'howdie' who assisted at the birth of the present writer, treasured a long string to which she attached a piece of print for each child she helped to bring into the world. This leal-hearted, pious woman could associate most, if not all, of the coloured strips with the names of the children, and it was her wont to pray for her 'fine laddies and lassies,' calling each by name as she touched the *dud* connected with him. The same old body was convinced that the moment an infant was born, and for an hour afterwards, it

bore such an unmistakeable resemblance to the father that it was impossible to be misled as to the parentage. She believed, also, that those destined to be drowned at sea came into the world with a slight indenture on the forehead which gradually filled up, until, when the allotted number of days had passed, it was indistinguishable.

Innumerable quaint sayings attach to boys and their doings: a characteristic example, used to seal a bargain, runs thus:—

'As sure's death
Cut ma breath
Ten miles aneath the earth,
Fite man, black man,
Burn me t' death.'

The following rhymes anent the rainbow come from the two northern counties. In Caithness, boys cry:—

'Rainbowie, rainbowie,
Dinna rain o' me,
Rain o' John o' Groat's house,
Or far beyond the sea.'

The Sutherland riddle is:—

'I see to me,
I see from me,
Two miles over the sea,
A little blue man,
In a green boatee;
His shirt is lined with a skein of red.'

The boys of Sutherland will never allow a beetle to escape them; they stamp on the insect and cry: 'Beetle, beetle, you won't see to-morrow.' The practice is without doubt connected with a legend which may be heard in the counties, a legend of special interest as a type of those curious Scottish stories wherein New Testament history and modern realism are interblent. Here it is:—

As they fled into Egypt, Joseph and Mary and the child Christ passed through a field where men scattered corn seeds. The Virgin said to the men: 'Should any ask of you if we have journeyed this way, make answer, "A man, a woman, and a child crossed the field as we sowed the corn."' The men promised to do her bidding. That night the grain

sprouted, grew rapidly, and ripened, so that next day the labourers brought their sickles and began to reap it. Now a band of soldiers came and questioned them : 'Have you seen a mother and child on an ass with a man leading it, go this way?' The men replied : 'As we sowed the corn which we now reap, they passed.' When they heard these words, the messengers of the King were about to turn back, but a black beetle cried aloud : 'Yesterday, yesterday, the corn was sown, and the Son of God passed through the field.'

It is but fitting that round an incident of such importance as marriage should accumulate folk-sayings and superstitions in number. A northern maid could at one time ascertain who was to be her future husband by a simple process. Immediately after supper she read the third chapter of Ruth, then washed the dishes, and, without opening her lips, went to bed with the Bible under her pillow, and a pin stuck through the chapter. The man then appeared to her in a vision. To test his loyalty she was enjoined to take three stalks of the 'carl-doddie' in bloom, strip off the blossom, lay the stalks in her left shoe, and place this under her pillow. If the lover was to prove faithful, the flowers blossomed anew. Another method of calling up an apparition of the husband to be, to which allusion is made in Burns' 'Halloween,' was for the lass to make her way in the twilight, unnoticed, to a fallow-field, and there scatter several handfuls of lint-seed, as she repeated :

'Lint-seed I saw ye,
Lint-seed I saw ye ;
Lat's him it's to be my lad
Come aifter me and draw me.'

Over her left shoulder she would then discern her future mate coming towards her. There is a Charm, which commands the anxious inquirer to go to a south running stream, and there wash the left sleeve of her shift. On her return home this should be hung before the cottage fire, and at night-fall the figure of her laddie will come and turn the damp sleeve. A curse falls upon a changeable suitor if the nineteenth Psalm be copied out and sent to him, and the receipt of this spell is even now regarded with some dread. It is considered essential to happiness for a couple to be married during the waxing moon,

and every stage in the preparations, from the purchase of the bonny *braws* at the neighbouring village to the final feast, has its own special significance. A graceful practice at one time widespread, was for the bride and bridegroom elect to go, hand in hand, to the cottages of their friends and bid them to the weddi: g; a white chalk mark on the door betokened to those who were not at home that they had been invited. Another prenuptial custom full of simple significance, which still survives, is for the most intimate friends of the bridegroom to assemble at his house the night before the marriage, fill a tub with stream-water, and wash his feet and legs: each comrade takes his turn at this mystic rite. In some districts it is believed that the one of the married couple who first falls asleep will be the first to pass. An old wife thus expressed herself on the subject:—'Weel a myne, he was the first to fa' asleep; a speer't at widow Macpherson's gehn she mynt filk o' them fa'd asleep first, but she didna' myne.' The bride is greeted at her new home by two friends, one of whom carries a towel, the other a plate of cakes. The towel is spread over the bride's head, and the cakes, or hard Caithness cheese, which has been partially sawn through with a jack-knife, is broken on her head. In olden times it was the wont to lead the new-made wife to the hearth: the peat fire was then scattered, and she re-made it, that good-will might be in the house.

The superstitions connected with death in the Land o' the Catts are weird and numerous; if a single individual paid heed to all of them his life journey would indeed be a gloomy one. Among fateful presages the death-drap holds a prominent place; the eerie sound known by this name was generally heard in the quiet of the night by one person who was thus called, and then by all those who touched him. It was as if single drops of water fell with the utmost regularity, and sometimes this haunting summons continued for many hours. There are peasants who tell that they have heard the dull thud of a coffin laid at their door prior to the death of a dear one, and others who aver that the murmur of countless human voices, borne on the wind from no whither, is an unerring token that death is at hand. A housewife of Cannisbay told

the present writer that, prior to the passing of a neighbour, she observed a strange candlelight flitting about his cottage; it was carried by no human hand, and its fitful wanderings told her of what was to come. A method, much in vogue at one time, of ascertaining whether a sickness would prove fatal, was to dig two holes in the ground, one called the quick grave, the other the dead hole; the sufferer was then placed between the two, and the hole towards which he turned indicated what would be the outcome of his malady. Sometimes a piece of rock was broken over the head of a person whose last agonies were painful alike to himself and to those who witnessed them. It was believed that the heart of the sick man would thus be broken and his release hastened. Windows and doors are always thrown wide open in order that the departing spirit may have free egress from the house, and escape from the evil ones that hover around eager to enthral his soul. During the interval between death and burial hens and cats were kept carefully shut up: a person meeting these animals at such a juncture was doomed to blindness in the future: moreover, unless a stream divided the two houses, farmers frequently refrained from yoking their oxen or horses before the body was 'laid under the turf of truth.' Many women preserved with the greatest reverence their bridal attire to cover them in the coffin. Bread and water were placed in the chamber of death, for during the night prior to the burial the spirit of the departed one came to partake of them. Still-born children, and little ones who had not been blessed by the minister, were buried before sunrise. In this way their admission to the land of promise was assured. Not to observe the practice was to destine the souls of these bairns to wander homeless and disconsolate. The fate of the suicide is lamentable. His body cannot rest in the kirkyard, for it would taint the souls of those who lie therein; frequently he was buried in a lone dyke which separated two lairds' estates, and passers-by were expected to cast a pebble at the rude stone which marked the place. The graveyard is not without its many strange superstitions. Here it is that persons in league with the powers of darkness steal at dead of night, and sell their souls to the

devil; in awed whispers stories are told of his appearance and wild words on such occasions. To the burying place those also go who would gain the power to arrest the progress of animals and man; while they open a coffin and take from it a screw, the Lord's Prayer must be repeated backwards. If a screw thus obtained be placed in the footprint of an animal or a human being, and the charm muttered below the breath, the progress of friend or foe is stayed.

No section of the folk-lore of these northern regions is so rich in nature myth, in floating wreckage of pagan times, and in mutilated fragments of the age of the Finn and the Norse rovers, as that connected with the sea. The sea has been called 'the restless mother of the world,' ever forming and reforming, casting up and swallowing again, as it does, islands and even vast continents. The epithet is peculiarly applicable to the waters of the North, for the population of the Land of the Stranger, in the past, depended almost entirely on the sea for the necessaries of life. The older generation of fishers, who navigated these skerries and firths relied mainly on traditional knowledge for their guidance. In Orkney, the ebb and flow of the tides was attributed to the breathing of a sea-monster which lay outstretched on the confines of the world. So gigantic was he, that the simple acts of expiration and inspiration took twelve hours to perform. The resemblance between this nature myth and that of the Greeks is very remarkable. North country sailors scorned at one time to use a compass, for, by the motion of the ninth wave, the Mother Wave, they could, even in the densest fog, ascertain their exact whereabouts, and gain the shore in safety. The launching of a Wick smack was, for years, regarded as unlucky unless the words which follow were repeated by the onlookers :—

'Fae rocks an' saans,
An' barren lan's
Keep's free.
Weel oot, weel in,
Wi' a' gweed shot.'

Harmful, if not fatal, results are believed to follow the utterance of certain words at sea. The salmon is ever a 'fine bit

fish,' and swine, minister, kirk, hare, and numerous other words are solemnly interdicted. The presence of a minister in a boat is, by many, regarded with grave concern, and it is sometimes with the utmost difficulty that a crew can be induced to go to sea if a minister is on board. Those who have sailed with these half-Norse, half-Celtic fishers, must have taken note of the method adopted to raise the 'wun;' the main mast is scratched energetically, and the men 'whustle' the while. Suspicious or unwelcome visitors are, on no consideration, admitted to a fisherman's hut while the lines are baited, and to count the number of a haul is equally unlucky; if the catch be a good one, an inquirer is never vouchsafed more information than 'we hae a gae puckle.' Water from the crest of the third wave, or 'die,' as Shetland folk call it, is deemed efficacious for the cure of divers ailments, notably that of 'worm,' or toothache. Another superstitious belief which obtains is, that 'the greatest witch in the world,' the sea, should never be directly mentioned, but referred to as 'her,' or the 'holy toyt.' An inhuman prejudice warns the fisher that it is dangerous to save a drowning man: the sea 'mun hae her nummer,' and one of the rescuers has to pay the penalty of his faithlessness to tradition with his own life. A man, moreover, who has survived shipwreck more than once is said to have 'the ee o' the deep' upon him, he is 'like a taed's bird, the aulder the waur.' There now lives a Caithness sailor who, alone of his crew, has been saved so many times that no captain will have him on board. The old objection to destroy the bones of a fish which has been eaten, lingers in the north. One version of it runs thus:—

'Roast me weel, or boil me weel,
But dinna burn my behns,
Or else a'll grow scarcer
Aboot yer herth-stehns.'

Like his Shetland neighbour, the Caithness sailor is careful to turn his boat 'withershins,' that is sunways, or he will have no luck with his nets.

The belief in the power of witches to control the sea was widespread, and seamen to this day purchase fair winds from

mysterious hags for a consideration. In Shetland, and to some extent in Caithness, fishers regard the halibut in a manner which is worthy of note. Silence is enjoined on the boat immediately the man at the line feels the fish; if, by some mischance, a youth speaks, and, above all, if he utters the name halibut, calamity falls on all hands on board. The 'bluggabanes,' breast bones, of the turbot were carefully preserved in an out-of-the-way chink of the fisherman's cottage; prosperity was thereby assured to the occupants. It is probable that the fish was thought to be under the special protection of Thor, the divine genius of the butt tribe.

Legends and superstitions without number are associated with the holy wells and lochs of Scotland, and several examples of this lore are to be found in Caithness, Sutherland, and the Northern Isles. St. John's Loch, or the Holy Loch, at Dunnet, possesses a mysterious power for the allaying of diseases of divers kinds; ere the sufferer can be healed, he must walk thrice round the water before sunrise. On the surface of a well at Halkirk lies a filmy veil, the colours of which in the sunlight are brilliant and varied as the plumage of a peacock. To the faithful only is it given to see this phenomenon. Many a Caithness peasant believes in the efficacy of 'casting the heart' for the cure of sickness. Into water, drawn from certain wells and running streams, some melted lead is dropped; portions of the metal formed into heart-shaped pieces, and if one of the lead hearts be put in all beverages drunk by the ailing person, health is restored. This cure can, however, be effected on certain days only in each *raith*, or quarter. St. Tredwell's Loch, in Papa-Westray, evidently one of the many centres of the ancient hermits of Papa, had of yore a wide fame, in part because its waters turned red as a prognostic of any important event in the Royal Family, in part because of its marvellous curative powers. A large number of coins, chiefly of the seventeenth century, have been found at the chapel hard by, offerings of gratitude, doubtless, from those who were healed by washing in the loch, or by walking silently round the edge. A typical example of water worship survives in the north. The maiden who, on New

Year's morning, first draws a pailful of water from the village well is accounted singularly fortunate. She has, in truth, secured the 'flower o' the well,' and will be happy for the succeeding year. The lassies often sing this couplet:—

> 'The flower o' the well to our howse gaes,
> And the bonniest lad'll be mine.'

The water-kelpies of the north of Scotland are not less mischievous than those of other districts. They dwell in deep pools, or preside over mill-streams and fords; strange sounds heard near such places are attributed to them. At times they assume the form of a horse, and graze quietly by the river-side, but woe-betide the unwary traveller who mounts, for he is spirited away, maybe to become a kelpie himself. In Orkney, these weird steeds are often snow-white, and are then called 'muggles.' The impossible task of training a water-horse has frequently been attempted, but, although apparently successful for a time, a heavy penalty attaches to such daring. Months, perhaps years, pass, during which the kelpie does good work, but, finally, he turns fiercely upon his would-be master. When wroth, the kelpie gallops wildly about, screaming hideously; if any one cross his path he tramples him or her to death.

The land spirits are called 'dressed fairies' in Sutherlandshire. They are found all over the county, but their favourite haunts are three conical hills, two of which go by the name of Torr Berrichan. These little people, clad in green, hunt merrily in the forest glades with horns and hounds, and peasants tell that, as evening falls, the 'horns of elfland' grow fainter and fainter in the distance and the hounds go wearily homeward. The fairies of Caithness dwell in caves which run for many miles inland from the sea. In certain homesteads, midway between Castletown and Wick, the labourers, when cutting peats with the *sheel*, hear the wee folk busily at work in their underground retreat. For the most part these 'dressed fairies' are kind to those who treat them well, but that they are occasionally mischievous the following tale shows. A woman of Sutherland passed one day through Glen Craig, in Strath Carron. She carried her infant in her

plaid. The wild solitude of the place haunted her, and, as she trod the path which runs beside the deep ravine of Glen Dun, the bairn, scarce twelve months old, spoke these words:

'(Many is the dun hummel cow, each having a calf),
I have seen milked
In the opposite Dun Glen
Without the aid of dog,
Or man, or woman, or gillie,
One man excepted,
And he grey'——

The terrified mother dropped the infant and hurried homeward, where, to her great joy, she found her baby crooning happily by the peat glow. The fairies had befooled her. Nearly every family in the North could boast of a brownie, and offerings of milk and meal were frequently made to them. Special *screws*, stacks of corn, were under their protection, and not a few farmers tell that their forbears received valuable aid from the brownies who, unseen, worked vigorously with the flail.

So lately as the middle of this century, a girl of Louisburgh, near Wick, was accused of being in league with the 'pooers o' mischief,' and a remedy akin to that recently practised with such tragic results in Ireland was devised. She was placed in a basket lined with shavings of wood, which was then hung over a fire. The issue in this case was not fatal, but the folk averred that she was not 'half so witch-like' after she had been singed. A hag of the Northern Isles was, at times, thought to be metamorphosed into a porpoise, and in fair weather she would dive under and overturn a fishing boat, against whose skipper she bore a grudge. On one occasion, she was made to place her hand on the bodies of several men who had met their death in such a way, and, in the words of the old chronicler, one 'bled at the collir bane,' another 'in the hands and fingers, gushing out bluid thairat to the great admiratione of the beholders and revelation of the judgment of the Almychtie.' A host of stories tell of northern witches who have given diseases to horses, oxen, and flocks of moorland sheep. Herdsmen to this day distrust unknown persons who touch the food of their kye, lest it be poisoned. In

Shetland the cat or *vaneja* is regarded as an animal which brings good luck; if she is seen to run towards the boat's *must*, there is sure to be a good catch. In Caithness, on the contrary, witches frequently appear in the form of cats. A carpenter of Scrabster in olden times was systematically robbed of his meal and cakes. He thought it 'cu'na be cannie,' and one night as he watched he saw a number of cats devouring his property. In a trice he cut off the right leg of one of them, whereupon they made their escape with a rapidity which confirmed his former suspicions. Shortly afterwards an old woman, who had always been looked upon with disfavour, was found dead in her lone cottage, bereft of her right leg.

Here is another story of the supernatural. Not many years ago, in a kirk near Thurso, a name which indicates the influence of the Norse mythology, the minister, much to the surprise of the devout if somewhat sleepy folk who sat under him, was overcome with laughter during the sermon, his eyes meantime being fixed on one of the old beams which supported the roof. Service over, he was eagerly interrogated on the subject, and proceeded to give a graphic description of the 'auld black een' who sat cross-legged on the rafter busily inscribing the names of those who slept during the sermon. The thick scroll of parchment was not long enough to hold all the names, and the 'mischief' put one end between his feet, and hauled vigorously at the other with his claw-like hands for the purpose of stretching it. Of a sudden, he lost grip with his hands, and the parchment sprang back with such force that he fell from his perch and vanished through a hole in the wall.

'Health comes slowly, but in huge billows cometh ailment,' is a Gaelic saying used by the folk of Caithness and Sutherland. Traditional cures abound in these parts where, for generations, doctors were practically unknown. Quite recently only, the present writer was recommended by a Caithness man to cure a stye in the following manner. At sunrise, walk to a place where two roads cross, pluck a thorn from the hedge, stick it into the swelling, and afterwards throw the thorn over the left shoulder. Warts, according to a native, gradually

disappear if a piece of raw beef be laid upon the excrescence and then placed in a mouse's hole. One of the most general, as well as one of the most potent, of cures was the casting of knots; various diseases were subject to this spell, and those who had the 'sicht' could also bind up the winds, or loosen the tempests by tying certain nooses on a rope. An epileptic is told to exhume the skull of a suicide, fill it with well-water, and take a long draught. A Sutherland stalker of the last generation had a remedy for toothache which never failed. In perfect good faith the following words were written on a scrap of linen or paper:—

> 'Peter sat on a stone weeping.
> Christ came past and said, "What aileth thee Peter?"
> "O my Lord, my tooth doth ache."
> Christ said, "Rise, Peter, thy tooth shall ache no more."'

This charm was worn round the neck until eventually the worm was driven out of the tooth.

The foregoing pages contain representative gleanings only of the folk-lore of those remote counties where, in time past, oral tradition took the place of books, and peasant wisdom fulfilled the wants of the age. One and all are characteristic of the people, and in this lies their claim to interest.

FRANK RINDER.

ART. IV.—ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

OUR knowledge of Oriental antiquity has of late been so much increased, by discoveries made in Egypt and in Chaldea which throw light on the earliest historic ages, that it is natural to ask how such discoveries affect the critical theories which have won a large measure of acceptance. It is proposed to enquire first as to the grounds of such theories, and as to the transformation which they have undergone during the last quarter of a century, and secondly, as to their relation to the facts of archæology, which, as a rule, are little

regarded by literary critics. Such enquiry is not made with the object of supporting any views based on Rabbinic opinion, but only of considering, from a purely antiquarian point of view, what are likely to be the facts.

The old critical theory, as presented in the works of Bishop Colenso, taught that the Pentateuch was the work of four writers. The Elohist, who wrote about half the book of Genesis, Colenso supposed to have been Samuel, and the Jehovist who supplemented his account and added that of the Exodus, was held to have lived some centuries later. The two writers were sharply distinguished by their use of these two names for the Deity. The author of Deuteronomy was a third writer of later age, and the Book of Leviticus, together with certain chapters in Exodus and Numbers, were the distinct production of a later priest about the time of the Captivity. Such a view had the merit of simplicity, and was based on arguments often as old as the time of Bayle, Voltaire and Astruc. It was answered by pointing out that the distinctions could not be maintained. That the names Elohim and Jehovah both occur in narratives (such as that of Potiphar's wife, Gen. xxxix.) which it is impossible to split up: that passages occur in Leviticus which are in the style of Deuteronomy; that expressions assigned to the later priestly writer occur in Genesis; and that the whole Pentateuch is knit together with an unity which makes it impossible to distinguish separate books of successive ages.

This reply has not been ignored by later critics. They admit that the Elohistic and Jehovistic narratives cannot be sharply divided, and that there is an unity, which however they consider 'artificial.' The newer theory therefore supposes that a priestly editor copied out 'excerpts' from ancient sources, and connected them with a thread of narrative including important additions. That he left the contradictions which are supposed to be traceable unreconciled, and added new laws which he represented as being due to Moses, but which differed from those of his earlier authorities. That he never quoted the sources of his information, and instead of rewriting the whole has left us a curious patchwork, which is

however still, according to Canon Driver, to be regarded as in some sense an inspired work.

This theory does not rest on the evidence of manuscripts or of versions. It does not rest on differences of language, such as distinguish the earlier from the later Hebrew, or from the Aramaic. It does not rest on the notice of events or persons of the later age of Captivity, or on the statements to be found in the Prophets or in the Book of Kings. It contradicts not only the Rabbinical tradition but the Jewish belief of Jeremiah's age. The text of the Pentateuch is singularly pure; and the differences between the Hebrew Samaritan Greek and Syriac versions may be enumerated on a page of note paper. The oldest Hebrew MSS. belong to the tenth century A.D., and hardly differ at all from the received text. The latest historic persons noticed in the Pentateuch are Agag and Hadad; and Shiloh is doubtfully indicated. The language of the Pentateuch is substantially the same throughout, and it differs from the later Hebrew of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. It contains no Persian words, nor any Aramaic forms which can be confidently stated to be late.* The authority of the author of Kings is often quoted for the discovery of the Law in the time of Josiah (2 K. xxii. 8); but the same author states that Amaziah obeyed the 'Book of the Law of Moses' (2 K. xiv. 6) about 840 B.C., and he represents Solomon (1 K. viii. 53) as referring to the separation of Israel (Levit. xx. 26) and quoting Moses as his authority. It is not clear why one statement should be accepted, and the rest passed over in silence as a rule.

There are allusions, in the Prophets who are generally acknowledged to have written before the captivity, to many

* Recent critics do not attach the importance once ascribed to scattered Aramaisms in Hebrew. The West Aramaic is traced in the inscriptions of Samala to 800 B.C., including such words as that for 'land' used by Jeremiah. The Amorite language in the fifteenth century B.C. was East Aramaic. The Moabite in 900 B.C. also shews Aramaic features. The books in which Aramaic passages, Persian and Greek words, occur are all later than the Captivity. Some words said to be Persian are found early in Assyrian, and were adopted by the Persians whose language gradually embraced a large Aramaic element.

incidents found in Genesis and Exodus. To the Garden of Eden (Isaiah, xxxvii. 12; Joel, ii. 3), to Nimrod (Micah, v. 6), to Abraham (Micah, vii. 20), to Sodom (Hosea, xi. 8; Amos, iv. 11: Isaiah, i. 10, viii. 16-20), to the history of Jacob's wanderings and marriage (Hosea, xii. 12), to Moses (Jer., xv. 1), and to the Exodus and forty years in the desert (Jer., xv. 1; Hosea, xii. 13; Amos, v. 25), to Miriam and Aaron (Micah, vi. 4), to Balaam and Balak (Micah, vi. 5). There are also numerous references to the Torah or Law (Isaiah, ii. 3; Jer., xviii. 18, xxxi. 13; Hosea, viii. 12; Micah, iv. 2), to the Ephod (Hosea, iii. 4), and to the Nazarites (Amos, ii. 12), which are undisputed. In the early historic books we find notice of the shewbread (1 Sam. xxi. 6) and of unclean food (Judg. xiii. 4-7). The tabernacle is also stated to have existed in the time of Solomon (1 K., ii. 28-29), and the feast of booths is noticed by Hosea (xii. 9). It is admitted, therefore, that not only the general thread of tradition concerning Hebrew origins, but many of their feasts and laws, are of great antiquity, yet the shewbread is only noticed in passages of the Law supposed to have been written by the Priestly Editor; and the Torah is supposed to have been unknown to Israel before the time of Josiah.

On what, therefore, is the present critical theory based, and what grounds have we for supposing that a later priest composed the present Pentateuch, inserting 'excerpts' without any quotation of authority, and leaving contradictions for the critic to discover? In the Book of Deuteronomy we read: 'What thing soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto or diminish therefrom' (xii. 32), and this command was regarded by the later Jews as so binding that they feared to alter a letter even of the text as known to them.* Yet the Priestly Editor is supposed not only to have added and suppressed, but to have left this passage in his work to confound himself. The authors of the Books of Joshua, Samuel, and Kings, give us the names of the older sources whence they drew their facts. The author of Chroni-

* See also Deut., iv. 2.

cles re-wrote the whole history of the monarchy when he wished to present it from his own priestly point of view. The Pentateuch itself refers to an older source (Num., xxi. 14)* in one passage, and to the later Jews the citation of authority was all important. What reason, therefore, is there to suppose that 'excerpts' occur in the Pentateuch, the source of which is unacknowledged? How is it that long passages, which the earlier critics regarded as being among the most ancient—ascribing them to the Elohist—are now said to be the most recent, and ascribed to the Editor? No new sources of knowledge have been discovered to justify this change in the critical view, which is necessitated by the arguments brought forward in defence of the essential unity of the Pentateuch. How are we to judge, if once we admit the existence of 'glosses' and 'interpolations,' whether passages on which the present theories rest are original? The greater the number of critical writers becomes the more the divergence of opinion. Not being in accord as to the dates to be assigned to Elohist and Jehovist, some regard the first as oldest and some the second. Some state that it is impossible to disentangle the two entirely; some say that parts of Leviticus are older than Deuteronomy; and single writers, like Wellhausen, have abandoned one view in favour of another within a few years. According to the evidence of the versions, there is only one verse (Num. x. 34) † out of place in the Pentateuch, yet some critics attempt to re-arrange sequence without any manuscript authority. We witness, in fact, a disintegration of the original theory, the abandonment of criteria once thought highly important, and the increasing belief that we possess in the Pentateuch a very late gathering together of ancient frag-

* The words 'Book of the wars of Jehovah' are rendered differently in the Septuagint—'In the Book. The war of the Lord (was against Zaheb),' which is, however, grammatically difficult. In the same chapter (verse 27) is an allusion to ancient sayings or songs referring to the destruction of Heshbon and Moab.

† In the Septuagint, verse 34 follows 36. The Hebrew text shows two marks opposite this verse, thought to indicate that it is out of place. Either order is possible.

ments, which were themselves often of composite origin, which work was corrupted later by copyists' errors, and by 'glosses.' Such a view is not supported by evidence of language, of manuscripts, or of versions, and it is not in accord with the belief of writers who are acknowledged to have lived before the Captivity.

The appeal is not to any modern discovery, but to critical observations often more than a century old. It is an appeal to repetitions and asserted contradictions which the editor left for our study, and to supposed differences of style as distinguishing various writers of various ages. Such arguments need to be closely followed, and to be examined by aid of the Hebrew and other versions; but no student should be content to accept the results without knowing the basis of the theory.*

As regards repetitions it was observed by Astruc, in the time of Voltaire, that certain narratives in Genesis, marked by the exclusive use of the word Elohim or Jehovah, appear to be parallel. The most striking case is that of Hagar's flight from Sarah (Gen. xvi.-xxi.). In the one case the flight occurs however before the birth of Ishmael, and in the other after he was born, and the scene is not of necessity the same in the two accounts. There is no reason why Hagar should not have fled twice from her mistress, and it is remarkable that the word Elohim occurs in the first chapter as well as Jehovah, and the word Jehovah (in a supposed interpolation) in the second account. As regards all the other passages it may fairly be said that either they are not strictly repetitions at all, or that they are enlargements of the nature of a commentary

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* The Book of Joshua is purposely excluded from this consideration. The theory that its narrative once formed part of a Hexateuch is contrary to all that is known of ancient divisions of Hebrew literature; the Torah stood apart in 250 B.C., and was accepted as a distinct work by the Samaritans. The Book of Joshua is more closely connected with Judges than with Deuteronomy. Many critical arguments as to the Law rest on the supposed evidence of the Book of Joshua, which includes notices belonging to the age of Rehoboam.

on the main stock of the narrative.* Any reader who attentively studies the subject will see that this is the case, and will observe cases in which the two names occur in a clearly single narrative, as well as combined in the term Jehovah-Elohim. The original distinction has therefore been in a measure abandoned by the latest critics, who suppose the editor also to use the term Elohim in Genesis—as a rule but with exceptions.† The word is also used in Judges and Samuel, where it has not been regarded as distinctive; and it occurs in much later books. The most remarkable repetition in the whole Pentateuch is that of the ordering and making of the Tabernacle and its furniture (Exod. xxv.-xxxi., and xxxvi.-xxxix.,) yet both these long accounts are attributed to the Priestly Editor. Any scholar acquainted with monumental records must admit that repetition is a frequent feature of ancient Oriental literature, even in cases when it is impossible to ascribe the writing on a large tablet, or on a statue, to more than one author.

Contradiction is a much more important argument than repetition, or than discontinuity of narrative such as marks the monumental narratives, or the Surahs of the Koran, quite as much as the Pentateuch; but it is necessary in each case that the contradiction should be proved to be important and original. If it merely consists in a somewhat different statement of small details, or in an expansion or shortening, it

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* Gen. ii. cannot be fairly said to contradict Gen. i. It is a supplementary account of what occurred at the Creation, just as the passage (Gen. vii. 1-10) on clean beasts is supplementary to the general statement. Repetitions of a most remarkable character may be studied in the letters of King Dusratta, of Ribadda, and others in the Tell el Amarna tablets, and in the early texts of Samala, in which cases dual authorship is impossible to suppose.

† Gen. xvii. 1; xxi. 1. The sacred name is supposed not to be used before the first visit of Moses to Sinai (Exod. vi. 3), but the passage in question is capable of being rendered 'Did not I make Myself known to them' (by My name Jehovah): while, according to an earlier passage (Gen. iv. 26) the name of Jehovah was in use from the earliest times. The editor who left this passage intact would not have been under any artificial obligation to change his style after Exodus vi.

cannot be said to be conclusive evidence of dual authorship. The Book of Deuteronomy is an impassioned summary of those that precede it—including passages only found elsewhere in Leviticus. It expands and dwells upon the more important points, and passes over those which are foreign to its general subject; but it is very difficult to prove that it contradicts at all, though it adds original matter. The contrasts drawn are often based on very small variations of statement; and in some cases the subject is not the same. It is not very important that the word rendered 'cheek' in one passage (Deut. xviii. 3) should be different from that rendered 'breast' in another (Levit. vii. 32-34), nor could such an instance be thought sufficient to prove a difference of historic periods. It is argued that the Levitical Laws were not observed in the times of the Kings of Judah, but this does not of course prove their non-existence in the lost Torah. They were not generally observed in the time of Ezra, nor at any historic period could they have been enforced on the whole scattered population. In the time of Joshua there was already some divergence of practice, and in the days of the Judges men did what 'was right in their own eyes.' It is certain that Ezekiel—a priest intent on ritual—was much influenced by Leviticus, but this is not supposed by critics to prove the non-existence of Deuteronomy. Jeremiah is equally influenced by the impassioned style of Deuteronomy, which appealed to his own character, but this cannot fairly be held to prove the non-existence of the Book of Leviticus—the argument from silence must always be weak.*

We come, therefore, to the original arguments, which are retained by recent critics, but which belong to the older school, namely, to the questions of the Central Sanctuary, and of the position of the Levites at different periods. It is argued that the laws supposed to be earliest (Exod. xx. 24) allow Israel to

* There are parallels in Jeremiah with all parts of the Torah including some regarded as late. The 'defiled land' (Jer. ii. 7; Num. xxxv. 33-34), the 'thanksgiving' (Jer. xxxiii. 11; Levit. vii. 12), as a sacrifice, and 'sin against souls' (Jer. xliv. 7; Num. xvi. 7) might be regarded as equally distinctive with other expressions pointed out by critics.

meet in various shrines, but that in Deuteronomy (xii. 13, 14) a single shrine alone is sanctioned; and that the later editor, while preserving the contradiction, tacitly supposes a single temple. Jewish commentators have long explained that the first passage alludes to the successive sanctuaries* at Gilgal, at Shiloh, at Nob and Gibeon (perhaps the same place), and at Kirjath Jearim, which were abandoned for reasons historically known. It is certain that Jerusalem is never mentioned in the Pentateuch, nor does the word 'temple' occur. It is also clear that the passage in Exodus does not state that the 'places' or sanctuaries were to be contemporary. Israel had its centre on its journeys wherever the Ark rested, and it is clear that a central sanctuary was more easily maintained when the tribes were marching together than when they were spread over the whole of Palestine. In Deuteronomy exemption is granted to those who were too far off (xii. 21), but the practice of pilgrimage to the central shrine is noticed as early as the time of Eli (1 Sam. i. 3), while it fell into disuse on the separation of Israel and Judah, and was only partly reinforced after the captivity of Israel (2 Kings, xxiii. 21). The supposed contradiction seems, therefore, to rest on the strained reading of a single sentence, and to be out of accord with probability and historical statement.

It is argued again that in Deuteronomy the Levite is the priest resident in each village, but that in a later age he is degraded to the position of a minister attending on the sons of Aaron, who alone are priests, and granted a large property in

* Bethel, which was a sacred 'place' (*Makom*) in the time of Abraham and Jacob, was also the gathering place of Israel against Benjamin where sacrifices were offered. In Samuel's time it was also a place to which journeys were made to offer sacrifice, and one of the three 'places' where Samuel himself did justice—the others being Gilgal and Mispeh. The practice of the age of the Judges is no guide, since the nation was disorganised. In Samuel's time, Shiloh being deserted and the ark taken to Philistia, the central sanctuary was also for a time lost, till re-established at Jerusalem. But the earliest centre, according to Deuteronomy and Joshua, appears to have been at Shechem, before Shiloh was selected. Bethel became one of the two shrines of Northern Israel from Jeroboam's days, and the scene of calf worship, and even of human sacrifice.

land round separate cities; yet in Deuteronomy Aaron and Eliezer are mentioned as priests (x. 6, 8) with Levites as ministers, and Aaron is called a Levite in the older narrative (Exod. iv. 14). The term 'The priests, the Levites' is used not only in early writings but also very late (2 Chron. v. 5) and the Levites are noticed even in Deuteronomy as possessing a patrimony* and as coming to the central sanctuary to minister (xviii. 6-8). The fact was that all priests were Levites, though all Levites were not priests. The case in which a Levite engaged in idolatrous worship (Judges, xvii.) proves nothing in an age when men did what was right in their own eyes. In Ezekiel such Levites are excluded from the sanctuary (xliv. 10-16), but the prohibition applies only to those who had served as priests of the high places.† It seems impossible to draw the sharp distinction proposed as marking the customs of different ages as recorded by different writers. If the Levites both lived in the various cities of Israel, and also went up with Israel to the central shrine, it is still not impossible that special cities may, from the first, have been assigned to them as property. Men do not always live on their property, but the possession of property by priests was a very ancient right in Egypt (Gen. xlvii. 26), as we know from inscriptions. The arrangements described by Ezekiel (xlv.) would have concentrated all Levi round Jerusalem, and the Levitical cities are not noticed by the prophet. Nor are they detailed in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. xi. 36), while two out of the forty-eight are noticed—Bethshemesh (Joshua xxi. 2) as inhabited by Levites in Samuel's time, (1 Sam. vi. 15),‡ and Anathoth (Joshua, xxi. 18) as a priests' city in David's time (1 Kings, ii. 26; *cf.* Jer. i. 1).

How then are we to reconcile the isolated position of the Levite 'within the gates' (as in Deuteronomy) with his possession of property? It seems probable that the answer is to be

* The term 'patrimony' is rendered by some translators 'Sellings by (*or* before) the fathers,' which is also the marginal rendering. But this term has no intelligible meaning.

† See also 2 Kings, xxiii. 9.

‡ Asserted on insufficient grounds by Wellhausen to be an interpolation.

found in the present constitution of the Dervish orders in the East. Levi signifies a 'band' or order, over which the chief priest ruled (Num. iii. 32, iv. 3). They were distributed in towns and villages to teach the Law (Deut. xxxiii. 10), much as the Dervishes are now distributed singly over Palestine. Yet these modern Levites, who receive portions from the villagers, belong to powerful orders, which possess property and central monasteries to which the single brethren at times resort; and at the feasts when they assemble at Jerusalem they may be seen gathered together under the banner of their chief, each order being named after its founder, as the Levites were named from a son of Jacob. Such a parallel seems to show that it is not difficult to reconcile the various statements as to the Levites in the Pentateuch.

A further critical appeal is made to style* and language in the Pentateuch, yet surely there is nothing more illusory than literary style. It depends on the subject, and on the impulse of the moment. An Assyrian scribe will turn from a dry category of defeated tribes to a poetical description of rugged mountains within a few lines of the cylinder. It is difficult to believe that the same Muhammad wrote the short ejaculations of the earliest Suras and the long legal passages set down at Medina. Tennyson in 'Crossing the Bar' and in the 'Northern Farmer,' is hardly recognisable as the same writer. Is it not possible that the poetical outbursts of Deuteronomy might come from the same pen that detailed the rites in Leviticus? Especially as a passage in the more impassioned style occurs in the latter book (xxvi.),† yet has been attributed to a Priestly Editor. Style in all literature rises and falls with its

* Canon Driver (Introduction, p. 7) says that the style of P. is 'precise,' but also (p. 56) 'diffuse,' and that 'stylistic criteria alone would not generally suffice to distinguish J. and E.' (p. 118).

† Canon Driver attributes this chapter to H., a writer who, though independent of P., and supposed to be known to Ezekiel, is yet supposed to have lived at a late period. There are 17 passages in the chapter parallel to others in Deuteronomy (see verse 19 and Deut., xxviii. 23, for a striking instance). References to exile occur (verses 34, 38, 44), but, as noticed later, foreign invasions of Palestine occurred at a very early period.

subject, and differs within the lifetime of the author. Out of the expressions said to distinguish the later priestly editor, eight at least are found in characteristic passages of Deuteronomy, and the rest occur in other parts of the Pentateuch, which are accordingly assigned to the later writer through the exigencies of the theory, which thus more and more forces its adherents to split up the documents, even when the context is thus injured, and the fragments are left imperfect. The occurrence of special words for certain rites or sacrifices cannot be expected in passages which treat of other subjects. The use of two forms of the first personal pronoun, of which the longer and more emphatic is naturally used in Deuteronomy, and the shorter in Leviticus, is not supposed even by critics to be a safe criterion of authorship; and the longer form was in use, as we know monumentally, both as early as the 16th century B.C., and as late as the 3rd. The shorter is used 138 times by Ezekiel, but he also uses the longer once. The shorter also occurs eight times in Deuteronomy, and the longer in a passage attributed to the priestly editor (Gen. xxiii. 4). All that can be said certainly is that the language of the Pentateuch is pure Hebrew, such as is found in the earlier prophets, and that it is not the language of books known to be written after the Captivity. *

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* The fact that phrases attributed to the editor occur in the narrative of Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, obliges the critic to attribute these also to him, and to suppose a later 'framework' in other books, such as Joshua, Judges, and Samuel. But the date of such narratives must be judged on other considerations besides style, and it is impossible to separate the legal chapters from others by language—which militates against the theory rather than supporting it. The phrases attributed to P. also often occur in Deuteronomy, in Jeremiah, in Hosea, in Kings, and in parts of the Pentateuch admitted to be ancient, as well as in later writers. Some passages in Genesis are supposed to be late only because of the use of words attributed to P., as for instance the verb 'to swarm' (Gen. i. 20-21; vii. 21; viii. 17; Exod., vii. 28; see also Deut., xiv. 19), which is used in Leviticus and by Ezekiel. Some words, such as *Sabaoth* 'hosts,' *Nasi*, 'prince,' *Elohim*, 'God,' *Mad Mad* for 'exceedingly,' are known monumently, in Canaanite and Assyrian, as early as the Exodus. In the later Hebrew books occur many terms not used in the Pentateuch, and among those found in Ezra and Nehemiah may be noticed *Beth-ha-Elohim*,

The historical allusions in the Pentateuch are only supposed to show that it dates later than the time of Moses. There is no mention of the Temple or of Jerusalem, no allusion to Tirzah or Samaria. The Song of Moses, and the Blessings of Jacob and Moses, represent Israel as united not as divided, as triumphant not as in captivity. The rites and customs in Leviticus are often as archaic as those in the 'Book of the Covenant,' and references to wizards, to Moloch, to the Canaanite high places, and to the Kodeshoth or temple women, connect these laws with the age which preceded the Captivity. It would not have been difficult, even for ordinary human intelligence, to foresee that Israel would require a king (Deut. xvii.), for the 'Kings of Canaan' are mentioned in a tablet which dates as early as 1450 B.C.* The famous passage as to the Kings of Edom, who reigned 'before there was any King in Israel' (Gen. xxxvi. 31), might be supposed to be a 'gloss,' quite as well as any other short sentence regarded as such by critical writers.† If we could be sure that the Agag mentioned (Num., xxiv. 7) was the Agag of Samuel's time (1 Sam., xv. 32), or the Hadad of Edom (Gen., xxxvi. 39), David's contemporary (1 K., xi. 21), these would be valuable indications of date; but such names were dynastic, just like Amenophis or Rameses in Egypt, Tiglath Pileser or Shalmaneser in Assyria, and Jabin in Canaan, so that we are still left in doubt. The mention of Shiloh would be valuable (Gen., xlix. 10) if the versions agreed as to the translation. The

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'house of God,' and terms meaning 'to prepare,' 'to receive,' 'joy' (as in Aramaic and Assyrian), 'guilt' (which is known in Aramaic of the 8th century B.C.) and others. There are also differences of syntax, and in the use of prepositions, found in these books which do not occur in the Pentateuch. The tendency of later writers would be to follow the classic language of the earlier sacred books; for which reason the non-use of later terms and forms in the Pentateuch is more important than the use of Pentateuch phrases by the later writers.

* Samuel wrote the 'manner of the Kingdom' in a Book (1 Sam., x. 25). The language of the Book of Samuel, like that of Joshua, often recalls Deuteronomy. Some scholars read 'the book' for 'a book.'

† Moses himself is called a King (Deut., xxxiii. 5), and the term means 'one who leads' or 'advises.'

notice of Dan (Gen., xiv. 14; Deut., xxxiv. 1) before it was so named in the time of the Judges (Judg., xviii. 29) would be valuable if we were not told that 'glosses' occur in the text. The term 'Land of Rameses' cannot be held to date the Exodus, as some writers assert, for it occurs as early as Jacob's time (Gen., xlvii. 18; Ex, xii. 37), but it might indicate that the author lived in the time of the Ramessid dynasty. Taking all these indications together, we find none which indicate a later age than that of Samuel. We are told in the history of Saul that he fulfilled certain duties laid down in the Torah, in the case of Amalek, of the witches, and of not eating blood; and that the shewbread and Ephod, the Urim (according to the Septuagint) and Thummim, which were not known after the Captivity (Ezra, ii. 63), existed in his time. The author of Kings tells us that the Tabernacle survived to David's time (1 K., ii. 28), as well as the Ark and Altar, but it disappears from later history. There are, on the other hand, rites and classes mentioned after the Captivity which are unnoticed in the Torah, especially the Nethenim porters and singers, the wood offering, and the name Satan. We seek in vain, therefore, for the conclusive evidence of large additions made to the Pentateuch during or after the Captivity, referring to priestly rules and rights at a time when the Temple was in ruins, the Ark and the Ephod lost, and the priests and Levites captives, without power or wealth.

The fact is that the critical view is based on the scepticism of the eighteenth century, which believed in no Oriental civilisation earlier than the Persian age, and which was ignorant of the monumental history of Egypt and Assyria, not then recovered. This scepticism regarded the Pentateuch as the unhistoric and dishonest production of priests, written for personal aims and by no means inspired; and it pointed to the legendary character of the narratives as an indication of later date, and to the difficulties in numbers as shewing the falsehood of the history. Even from a purely human standpoint none of these suspicions are justified. We know how widespread was the civilisation of Asia—including Palestine—in the age of Moses. We know that throughout the Old Testament the versions

differ more as to numerals than as to anything else: hundreds are often added to units in one manuscript, which do not occur in another. The ancient scribes of Tell el Amarna, and of the Phœnician monuments, used numerals instead of writing the numbers in full, and such signs are easily miscopied, and have certainly been miscopied in the Book of Genesis, where Hebrew, Greek and Samaritan numbers differ. Finally the sudden origin of marvellous tales, relating to living men, is known to the traveller to be so common in the East, that it is unnecessary, even from a rationalistic standpoint, to suppose that such narratives require the lapse of ages for acceptance.

On the other hand, we have no statement in the Pentateuch which definitely ascribes the whole of it to Moses. He is never said, for instance, to have written Genesis, or the account of his own death, or any passage in which he is mentioned in the third person. He is only definitely said to have written down the Law—the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xxiv. 7—xxxii. 32, see Exod. xxiv. 4) and the subsequent repetition of the Ten Commandments (Exod. xxxiv. 27) with the list of Stations in the Desert (Num. xxxiii. 2) and the Song (Deut. xxxii. *Cf.* xxxi. 21.) To him is ascribed the written curse on Amalek (Ex. xvii. 14) and the Law of the seventh year (Deut. xxxi. 9.) These Laws were preserved as a book in the Ark (Deut. xxxi. 26), but we are left at liberty to suppose that others, mentioned rather as oral than as written, were not put down in their present form until later; and that the narrative of Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, was due to a writer, or to writers, who speak of the greatness (Ex. xi. 3) and humility (Num. xii. 3) of Moses, and of his death (Deut. xxxiv. 5); and whose expression 'unto this day' seems to point (Deut. xxxiv. 6) to a considerable lapse of time. It may nevertheless be confidently stated that the theory of an editing and re-editing of excerpts, without any quotation of authority, by a priest of the time of the Captivity, who disregarded the injunction of Deuteronomy, and both added to and altered the Law, is a theory which rests on no secure basis, and which produces an impossible result, in the patchwork ascribed to E.J.D_1 D_2 H. P_1 P_2, with glosses, interpolations, and independent 'sources,'

which will hereafter be regarded as a curiosity of misdirected and sometimes perverse ingenuity. We possess ancient statutes which are said to have been written by Moses; and as far as any historic indications can be discovered, the whole Pentateuch may have existed, in its present form, in the time of Samuel and of David, before the building of Solomon's Temple.

We turn then to consider, from an archæological point of view, whether the various indications in the Pentateuch as to writing and art, metals, precious stones, general civilisation and law: the making of an ark and tabernacle: the notice of various beasts and birds and vegetables, of horses and chariots, of trade caravans, of the import of foreign spices, of ships, and commerce, of Canaanite religion and monuments, of geography, ethnology, and language, of foreign history in Assyria and in Egypt, and of a calendar, could have represented the state of the world in the time of Moses; and also whether later indications of language and of civilisation are absent, the presence of which would betray anachronism. Such an enquiry has only become possible of late, through the accumulation of monumental information, and the answer must be that there is no statement, historic, ethnological, or antiquarian, in the Pentateuch which obliges us to look to later times than those of Samuel at latest, and that the civilisation supposed did actually exist in Palestine itself in the days of Moses himself.

As regards writing we know that it was in use in Chaldea and in Egypt as early as 2500 B.C., and we have now positive proof, in the Tell el Amarna letters, that there were Canaanite scribes about the time of Moses or earlier, who wrote on clay tablets in the cuneiform character. It is probable therefore that writing was known to the Israelites in this same age,*

* This writing would not be alphabetic. The alphabet is as yet not known earlier than 900 B.C. It might be conjectured that the differences in certain personal names are due to their having been written with ideograms in the original. Thus in the Tell el Amarna tablets the reading of personal names is often doubtful because of this practice: *Abi-melec* may be *Abi-sar* and so on. The case of Ishbaal—called also Ishyo and Ishbosheth, and others, might be explained by the occurrence of an ideogram for 'God,' which different students read *Baal*, *Bosheth*, (the

and the material used was not always clay, for the ancient inscribed statues of Tell Loh are of hard Sinaitic granite. The commandments are said to have been written on both sides of two stone tablets (Exod. xxxii. 15), and we find the ancient tablets still extant to be usually so written on both sides. The ten commandments might easily have been transcribed on two tablets not more than six inches square each, such as are used for the Canaanite letters. The use of papyrus and of leather for scrolls in Egypt is however older than the time of Moses. The antiquity of the arts is equally proved by extant remains, and by the historic inscriptions of Thothmes III., who reigned before the Exodus. Among the spoils which he took at Megiddo, and elsewhere in Palestine, are enumerated golden vessels and dishes, a Phœnician double-handled vase, statues with heads of gold, sceptres of ivory, ebony, and cedar inlaid with gold, thrones with footstools of ivory and ebony, tables of cedar inlaid with gold, gems, a double-handled cup carved with a bull's head, another vase of silver with a gold lid inlaid with 'blue-stone,' and dishes carved with heads of goats and of lions. On the accompanying pictures some of these art objects are portrayed, being of gold, silver, and bronze, with elegant shapes, and often with *repoussè* patterns. They resemble the work of the Phœnicians and Assyrians in the same catalogues; and about 1500 B.C. we have long lists of women's ornaments,* thrones, litters, and chariots, sent from Syria, Babylon, and Armenia to Egypt. The precious metals gold, silver, lead, tin, copper, bronze, and iron were all known in this early age. The mention of iron in the Pentateuch (Deut. viii. 9)† has been suspected as an anachronism, but in the

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Phœnician and Egyptian Bast) and *Yehu*. Perhaps the name of Moses' father-in-law was also doubtful for this reason. In cuneiform writing the true reading can only be made certain by variant signs or by syllabic spellings.

* See Gen. xxiv.

† The notice of mines in this passage must be supposed to refer to the Lebanon. Palestine proper does not appear to have ever possessed them, but the Phœnicians mined for copper and tin in their mountains. The limits of the land of Israel in the Pentateuch include part of the Lebanon, which was not finally conquered till the time of David.

ruins of Lachish, side by side with copper and bronze, iron implements have been discovered on the same level with seals of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty. As regards precious stones (Exod. xxviii. 17-20) the exact meaning of the Hebrew words is not always known, but we have monumental notice of carved gems of agate, amethyst, and jade, together with extant carved signets in the British Museum of all these stones, and of topaz and lapis lazuli, crystal, hæmatite, carnelion and chalcedony; and such carved gems occur in the ruins of Lachish at a very early period. An onyx which belonged to Kurigalzu the King of Babylon, who reigned about the time of the Exodus, is among the few which are dated by any historic name. A breast plate which must have greatly resembled that worn by the High Priest has been found in an Etruscan tomb in Italy.

As regards civilisation in Canaan the monumental records from 1600 to 1400 B.C., attest the existence of walled towns, with temples full of treasure, of fleets on the Mediterranean both in Phœnicia and near Joppa, of chariots and horses, and tents with pillars of iron and gold, of statues and painted decorations, of skilled joiner's work (like that of Queen Hatasu's chair from Egypt, now in the British Museum), and of trade in copper with Asia Minor. Ivory was well known, and even apes were exported to Egypt. There are notices of large wheat harvests in Palestine in 1600 B.C., and of wheat sent in ships, of wine and oil and honey, of horses, camels, asses, sheep, goats, and cows, also of woven stuffs of various colours, armour of iron and bronze; bows, spears, shields and swords, leather coats with bronze scales, and various robes, rings and weights, used as money, and even official passports signed with a royal cylinder seal: balsam and fruits are enumerated, and many kinds of precious woods; while weapons of flint are noticed which recall those actually found at Lachish. It has been placed beyond dispute that the whole of Canaan was civilised several centuries before the earliest date given for the Exodus.

Laws and treaties were equally ancient. We have an Akkadian tablet which inculcates the duty of honouring father

and mother, and which orders heavy punishments for the disobedient son. In the treaty made by Rameses II. with the Hittites (about 1320 B.C.), it is stipulated, as in Deuteronomy (xxiv. 16.), that a man's kin may not be punished for his offence. Extradition of fugitives is also twice noticed in the Tell el Amarna tablets, and slaves are frequently mentioned on the monuments. The duty of sacrifice is quite as clearly expressed; and religious tablets from Asia are preserved with the letters of the fifteenth century B.C. Boundaries were drawn by agreement between Kings, and political negociations connected Egypt with Babylon, whose King refused to ally himself to the Canaanites when they meditated rebellion. The organisation of Canaan, under native chiefs and Egyptian residents, with forces of chariots stationed at central points, was complete, and the official form of report or of royal letters was stereotyped by custom. At all the 'resting-places' on his march, Thothmes III. levied regular rations from the inhabitants of Palestine, of bread, oil, palm, wine, honey, and fruit; and in the Tell el Amarna tablets these customary rations include also meat and fowls.

Critical writers admit that there may have been an ark and a tent or tabernacle in the wilderness; and on the same monumental grounds the making of shewbread at this early period may be admitted to be probable. Portable arks were early used in Egypt, and they were used by the Babylonians and Phœnicians. The records of Thothmes III., about 1600 B.C., notice a tent of the King of Megiddo, seized in his camp, which had seven poles covered with plates of gold; and in another case the pillars were of iron. The enormous leather tent of Queen Hatasu has actually been discovered in Upper Egypt. The Egyptians offered to Osiris *mest* cakes at the New Year, similar to the *mazzoth* or unleavened cakes of the Hebrews; and these are pictured piled up on a table before the image.

The natural history of the Pentateuch is worthy of careful study. The Hebrew names of birds and beasts are usually quite different from those employed in Assyria, with exception of such animals as the camel and the horse. The lion is

monumentally noticed in Syria as late as 1320 B.C., and the *Reem* or wild bull ('unicorn' of the Greek translation) was hunted in the Lebanon as late as 1120 B.C. Among other mammals (Levit. xi. and Deut. xiv.) the coney or hyrax is a desert animal, and so is the wild goat or ibex, and the wild ox or bubale. The fallow deer and roebuck might be found in the woods of Gilead, where the latter still survives, the former being now only known in the Tabor oak forest. Among birds the ostrich (mistranslated 'owl' in Deuteronomy xiv. 15) also belongs to the Syrian desert. The pelican is common in the Mediterranean, and on the waters of Merom. The stork, the heron, and the quail, are found in the Jordan valley and the desert. The cormorant (Hebrew *shalak* or 'diver') is a sea bird, as is also the gull. The hoopoe (rendered lapwing in the English version) occurs in the Transjordanic woods; and the only bird among these whose name occurs in Assyrian lists is the *anpatu* or long-beaked water bird, which appears to be a 'heron.' There is nothing therefore in such a list to point to Assyria, where the desert animals and sea birds would be unknown; and the general habitat of this fauna is found in Gilead, in the Jordan valley, in the southern deserts, and on the sea coast.*

The botany of the Pentateuch is equally indicative of antiquity. Corn, wine, and oil were early products of Palestine, and the honey of the wild bee which still is found. The vine grows wild in Western Asia: the apple is still not unknown in Syria: the almond is native: and the pistacio nuts† such as Jacob sent to Egypt (Gen. xliii. 2). Hyssop is still used for sprinkling, and grows wild. Balm is early noticed on the monuments. Manna is still found in the Sinaitic desert.

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* The word *tachas*, rendered 'badger,' is generally allowed to represent a sea mammal, either some kind of porpoise such as are found in the Red Sea or Mediterranean, or a 'seal.' The latter is noticed in the Talmud, and though rare in the Mediterranean has been found off the coast of Palestine recently.

† A later word for 'walnuts' supposed to be Persian, occurs in the later Hebrew, but not in the Pentateuch. There is no Hebrew word for 'peach,' a fruit now known in Palestine.

'Spicery,' the gum of the mock orange, or styrax (Gen. xxxvii. 25) is noticed about 1500 B.C., and the bush is commonly found wild in Palestine. According to some writers, however, the astralagus is intended, and the styrax identified with stacti. The pomegranate was early cultivated in Egypt, and is represented on monuments. Myrrh is a product of the Arabian desert; and calamus and cassia (Ezek. xxvii. 19) come either from Ionia, or from Uzal in Arabia (according to the Septuagint version). There was already, however, a maritime trade between Egypt and Asia Minor in the fifteenth century B.C., and Akkadian ships coasting round Arabia are noticed ten centuries earlier. It is unnecessary, therefore, to regard these products as being unknown to the Hebrews before the later times of Phœnecian trade during the captivity.

While considering this subject it should be noticed that there is no mention of mules in the Pentateuch.* Such breeding was contrary to the law, but the Assyrian sculptures, in later times, give figures of mules, and they are noticed in later books of the Bible (Ezek. xxvii. 14; Zech. xiv. 15). Nor are domestic fowls noticed, though known in Palestine in the time of Christ, and represented on cylinders of the Persian period.† There is no mention of the citron, which is native to Media, but which was only known in the Persian period in Palestine. Cotton (Esther, i. 6) and silk (Ezek. xvi. 10) are alike unnoticed in the Torah, but occur in later books; while flax, one of the most ancient materials in Asia and in Europe, is so noticed. The cochineal insect ('crimson,' Isaiah, i. 18) may early have supplied a dye, for it is found on the leaves of the Syrian oak; and the purple dye from the *galbanum* or operculum of the

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* The word rendered mules (Gen. xxxvi. 24) is properly translated 'hot springs.' Mules are noticed in Sennacherib's text as taken fron Hezekiah in 702 B.C.

† Fowls were unknown to the Greeks before the Persian period. They do not occur in the lake dwellings of ancient Switzerland. They were unknown to the Egyptians. They are shown on the Harpy Tomb in Lycia about 600-500 B.C. They were sacrificed by the Persians, and appear to have been known early in China (Darwin, *Animals and Plants under Domestication*, I. p. 246).

shellfish used at Tyre may date back to any age, since it is found all along the Palestine coast, as is the yellow crocus or saffron, and the orange-coloured henna, and kohel for blackening the eyes.

The Hebrews do not appear to have used horses before the time of Solomon, but the Canaanites had horses and chariots, which are noticed monumentally between 1700 and 1400 B.C. as well as later. The Egyptians also had chariots long before the Exodus. Trading caravans, such as led Joseph to Egypt, are noticed in the fifteenth century B.C. in Palestine, and ships on the Syrian coasts as early as 1600 B.C. There is no apparent anachronism, therefore, in their being noticed in the Pentateuch (Gen. xlix. 13; Num. xxiv. 24). The Cyprian ships, prophecied of by Balaam, already existed in 1200 B.C.; and not only war vessels but trading ships from Asia Minor are noticed in the Tell el Amarna texts of the fifteenth century B.C. Some trade products, such as ivory, ebony, and apes, are indeed found mentioned in the early records which are not mentioned in the Pentateuch, but in these cases it is in Northern Syria, not in Palestine itself, that they are noticed.

The Canaanite religion appears to have resembled that of surrounding nations. Among the names of gods noticed in the Torah, Baal and Ashtoreth occur on very early monuments, as does the *Asherah* or 'grove'—a goddess whose image appears to have been a wooden pole that could be cut down. This goddess is mentioned, with Baalath and Dagon, in the Tell el Amarna letters, and she was worshipped, as we there learn, by the Amorites. The 'pillars' and 'altars' of the Canaanites, Israel was commanded to overthrow. There can be little doubt that these are represented by the rude stone monuments which are so numerous beyond Jordan, and of which a few are found in Galilee, especially at the source of the Jordan, near Dan. No one who has seen the Moabite monuments can suppose that they were ever sepulchral. Some of these rude stone altars, with blood channels on the capstones, are found on the slopes of Pisgah, where Balak is said to have built seven altars (Num., xxiii. 14), but there is not a single example standing in Judea or in Samaria, so that the commands of the

Torah appear to have been carried out. Nor have any sculptures, such as occur in Syria, been discovered in Palestine. They either were never carved on its rocks, or they have been destroyed. The only images of Canaanite times are certain *teraphim*, or small doll-like statues in bronze, which have been unearthed in the lower strata of the Lachish ruins.

Turning to questions of geography, ethnology, and history, the testimony due to exploration is equally instructive. The geography of the Pentateuch presents neither anachronisms nor improbabilities. The original home of man is placed in the Armenian highlands, which appear to have been the actual cradle of Asiatic races, not only in the traditional belief of Persians, Mongols, and others, but also according to monumental and linguistic evidence. The conquest of Assyria by the Babylonians (Gen., x. 11) is in accordance with historic data, as are the conquests of Eriaku and Ammurapaltu (Arioch and Amraphel, (Gen. xiv.) west of the Euphrates about 2100 B.C. The regions known to the writer of Genesis (x) were known to the Canaanites in 1500 B.C., and to the Egyptians, including Arabia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Asia Minor. The history of Elam is traced back to 2500 B.C. Among the important cities known to have existed in 1700 B.C., are many mentioned in the Pentateuch, such as Hamath, Arvad, Arka, Gebal, Zemar, Sidon, Gaza, Damascus, Ashtaroth, and Dothan. The land of Hobah (Gen., xiv. 15), north of Damascus, and of Ham (verse 5) in Bashan, are mentioned monumentally in the 15th century B.C. Shinar, Naharaim, and Canaan are equally ancient geographical terms. The Amorites and the Hittites are noticed quite as early in Syria, and the Philistines by name in 1200 B.C., and their god Dagon at Ascalon before 1450 B.C. The erection of great towers, built with bricks and pitch mortar (Gen., xi. 3) is traced in Chaldea to an age earlier than that of Abraham. A Hittite seal of high antiquity has been found at Lachish, not far west of Hebron (Gen., xxiii. 10). Harran (Gen., xxviii. 10) is also mentioned in the 15th century B.C., and of the cities noticed in the Book of Joshua, Jerusalem, Ajalon, Gezer, Lachish, Ascalon, Joppa, Gaza, Accho, Megiddo, and many others, are known to have been built before the

Exodus. About ninety towns which are noticed in early Hebrew books, are named on monuments between 1700 and 700 B.C.

Nor is there any difficulty in supposing that Israelite tribes may have lived for a generation in the oases of the Sinaitic desert. It still supports an Arab population of many thousands, who own camels, asses, flocks, and herds. We have a well known Egyptian picture of great antiquity, which represents thirty-seven Asiatics from Edom, bringing to Egypt an ibex such as is found only in the southern deserts, armed with lances, clubs, and bows, playing on a lyre, and driving asses before them like Joseph's brethren. They brought the 'paint for the eyes' made from the desert Kohel plant.

The list of stations (Num. xxxiii.) said to have been written down by Moses, represents a daily march of ten to fifteen miles across the desert, which is about the distance which an Arab tribe will now cover in a day's march. Among these the sites of Succoth, Sinai, Hazeroth, Shapher, Gudgodah, Jotbathah, and Ezion Geber, are known, and Mount Hor and Kadesh Barnea fixed by Josephus near Petra: while on the way to Gilead, Dibon, and Nebo, are fixed points. A careful study shews that there is no discrepancy between this account and the scattered references in Deuteronomy, for Moseroth was evidently close to Mount Hor (Num. xxxiii. 30, 38; Deut. x. 6). After a journey of three months Sinai was reached, and Kadesh six months after the Exodus. The wanderings up and down the Arabah, between Petra and Elath, and over the downs immediately west near Gudgodah, terminated with the second visit to Kadesh, the unsuccessful attempt to invade Palestine from the south near Arad, and the detour round the Edomite Mountains of Petra. Supplies of water were to be found, at distances of a day's march, all along these routes. The overrunning of Gilead and Bashan in five months—an advance of less than 100 miles—was not as arduous a campaign as were many annually undertaken by Assyrians or Egyptians, who fought their way 600 or 700 miles within a year.

As regards ethnology the 'fair race' of Asia Minor (Japhet) was known to the Egyptians before 1300 B.C. Monumental

texts and sculptures prove that the Hittites, the Akkadians, and probably the Hyksos in Egypt, all belonged to the Mongolic race. They are assigned to a single stock in Genesis (x. 6): but the Amorites are included in this list, and the Tell el Amarna tablets shew that they were a Semitic people, and spoke an Aramaic language, which was the same used a thousand years later by Assyrians and Babylonians. This fixity of language—due to knowledge of literature and to the art of writing—is a valuable indication. All that we know monumentally as yet of Hebrew is that it is the same as that of the Prophets and of the Pentateuch; and that it differs as a dialect from the contemporary Moabite, Phœnician, and Syrian, and was distinct from the Canaanite Aramaic. In Genesis (xxxi. 47) the language of Jacob is distinguished from the Aramaic of Harran beyond the Euphrates; and so slowly did Semitic languages change that we have no reason to doubt that the Laws of Exodus may represent the language of Moses; especially as there are grammatical peculiarities in the Pentateuch, not found in other Hebrew writings.* It has been fiercely denied that these are archaic, but their presence has not been explained away, and they serve alike to witness the careful preservation of the text from a remote period, and the gradual change in Hebrew speech.

Our knowledge of history, due to monuments, is, of necessity,

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* The best known instances are two. The word *Nar* is used for both feminine and masculine. The masculine of the 3rd personal pronoun singular is frequently used for the feminine, which only occurs eleven times in the Pentateuch. It is denied (Driver on Deuteronomy, § 13 in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, new edition, and quoting Delitzsch Gen. 1887, p. 27, f.) that this is an archaism, but it is certainly a peculiarity not found in later Hebrew. The distinction of gender is not an original feature of language, though a very early feature of Semitic speech. It is evident that such a peculiarity cannot have been introduced by later copyists, and (whether written *plene* or not) it has not been explained away. The Mongolic languages, which are in an earlier linguistic stage than the Aryan or the Semitic, have never distinguished gender. It might be conjectured that this peculiarity is due to Canaanite (Hittite) influence on Hebrew—just as Danish influenced the Anglo-Saxon inflections. But this would point to an early period.

fragmentary and incomplete, yet much has been recovered which agrees with the historic statements of the Pentateuch. It is certain that the Akkadian conquerers had crossed the Euphrates before the time of Abraham, and that they had reached Sinai and Egypt by the Red Sea. It is known that Amraphel (Ammurapaltu) was a great Babylonian conquerer, and that the eighteenth Dynasty expelled from Egypt the many Asiatic tribes which had there gathered during the Hyksos period. The notice of Assyria in Numbers (xxiv. 22) has been said to indicate a later date, but there is no reason for such an assumption. There is unfortunately a gap in the monumental history of Assyria between 1100 and 850 B.C., but we know that the Assyrians and Egyptians had met in 1600 B.C., and still corresponded with each other about 1400 B.C. The king of Mesopotamia oppressed Israel about the latter date, according to the book of Judges (iii. 10), and we know that, in 1150 B.C., Assur Risisi left a monument as far south as Beirut, and that Tiglath Pileser I. was hunting in the Lebanon in 1120 B.C. His daughter seems to have married Rameses XVI., and rather later the statue of Naromath, King of Assyria, was set up in Abydos, where he was buried, and where texts in his own language (still to be recovered) were inscribed. Assyrian invasions of Palestine may therefore be supposed to have occurred often in very early times. Finally the Tell el Amarna tablets inform us how, in the fifteenth century B.C., the Canaanites revolted from Egypt, and how a fierce people called the *Abiri* or *Habiri* attacked the Amorite king of Jerusalem, coming from Seir, fighting at Ajalon, conquering Gezer, Ascalon, Lachish, and Keilah—the very path of Joshua's first campaign. There is absolutely no monumental or historic reason why we should hesitate to identify these Abiri with the Hebrews.

In conclusion of this review of monumental history the question of the Calendar may for a moment be noticed. Only one month name occurs in the Pentateuch—that of Abib, the first spring month. According to the book of Kings the second month was called Zif (1 Kings, vi. 1), the seventh Ethanim (1 K. viii. 2) and the eighth Bul (1 K. vi. 38) in the time of Solomon. After the Captivity the Assyrian Calendar

was in use, and these four months were called Nisan, Iyar, Tisri, and Marchesvan. But the Assyrian Calendar was of immense antiquity, for the month names are traced back to 2100 B.C.; and on the other hand, the native Hebrew Calendar survived to a very late period in Phœnicia. The Cyprus inscriptions mention the months Bul and Ethanim in the Greek age, and we are thus led to conclude that the Calendar of the Pentateuch is not that of the time of the Captivity, but a native Hebrew Calendar of earlier times. The passages in which Abib is noticed (Exod. xiii. 4; xxiii. 15; xxxiv. 18; Deut. xvi. 1) are however attributed by critics to an early period.

Turning to consider specially the passages attributed by critical writers to the Priestly Editor, we may note that the story of Creation and of the Flood, so ascribed, were already ancient among the Assyrians in the seventh century B.C., though they are disfigured by many mythological additions. They appear to have been known yet earlier to the Akkadians, and the first has been recovered in the Akkadian language. The list of nations, as already remarked, bears evidence of great antiquity (Gen. x.); the story of the Cave of Machpelah does not represent a later but an early condition of civilisation: 'money,' in the shape of rings and weights, was used before Abraham's age; and the Hittites appear to have lived in the South till about 1600 B.C., when Thothmes III. defeated them at Megiddo and drove them back into Syria. There is so little indication of late date in any of the passages assigned to the Priestly Editor after the Captivity, that Wellhausen is obliged to suppose that he adopted purposely an assumed archaic style, to conceal his real age. But the existence of such an Editor has still to be proved. It is contrary to the spirit of ancient Oriental literature to edit. The production of Targums and Commentaries is very ancient, but the mutilation of early works, and the use of unacknowledged excerpts by later writers, are unproven. The Tell el Amarna scribes were careful to read over and correct their tablets before they were baked. The Assyrians certified that their copies of earlier documents were exact, and when such copies can be compared they are found to agree closely. They made translations of

Akkadian texts, and added glossaries and grammatical tablets to explain difficult words, and to illustrate the grammar of the ancient Non-Semitic tongue which they studied. The Egyptians added chapters from time to time to the Book of the Dead, and rubrics and glosses in the margin to explain it, which in the later times of decadence were confused with the text, which was however long preserved in its original purity. The Arabs, when shortly after Muhammad's death the authorised version of the Koran was published, made no attempt critically to edit the scattered leaves. The later Jews were most anxious to preserve the text of the Torah, and the evidence of versions and of grammatical forms shows how early this spirit of conscientious copying must have existed. Out of 250 words used in the first chapter of Genesis 80 are known, on monuments in Palestine and in Syria dating earlier than the Captivity; and the antiquity of Aramaic speech west of the Euphrates is abundantly proved by the texts of Samala (800 to 730 B.C.), while the oldest Canaanite language proves to be the same indicated by the town names of the lists of Thothmes III.

On the evidence afforded by Deuteronomy there is absolutely no reason to regard references to Aaron in Exodus as being later insertions, and as regards Deuteronomy itself it is difficult to suppose that a writer living after the time of Jeroboam should make Gerizim the 'Mount of Blessings' (xi. 29; xxvii. 12), and yet address himself to all Israel and pray for Judah as well as for Joseph (xxxiii. 7, 13). The list of desert stations is so easily followed on the ground (Num. xxxiii.) that we have no reason to regard it as a late insertion. There is absolutely no reason for regarding the laws of Leviticus as belonging to the period of the Captivity, because they appear to have been known to Ezekiel; and no allusions occur to late practices or events in this part of the Pentateuch, nor is the language that of Ezra's age.

Such views are due to fifteen years of study of the works of Ewald, Colenso, Kuenen, Wellhausen, Robertson Smith, and Canon Driver, leading to the conclusion that, even in those parts of the original theory in which they agree, there are

serious flaws in the argument, and that many important indications have been overlooked. The original critical theory has been examined in detail, by scholars not satisfied with its results, and in consequence of the criticism of criticism the later school have found it necessary to shift their ground, and to advocate a theory of editing, in place of a theory of independent documents. The indications of unity in the Pentateuch are too strong to be ignored by honest scholars: but to save the position this unity is assumed to be artificial. It has become more and more a critical necessity to split up the narratives, and to introduce new machinery, in the shape of supposed 'glosses,' 'interpolations,' and 'independent documents,' for which there is no documentary evidence. To save the fundamental dogma of the later editor it is supposed that his work must have been essentially dishonest: none have yet had the moral courage to dispense with a view which gradually leads to confusion. It results in a literature without any known parallel, in which scraps of various ages—often themselves composite—are supposed to have been patched together, and represented by the forger as an ancient and authentic work. It is impossible to suppose that a work like the Old Testament, remarkable for its literary power, its vivid and terse descriptions, its impassioned eloquence, its rich historical and antiquarian materials, and its noble religious thought, can have been produced by so inferior an order of men as those who, without conscience, or in the interests of a priestly caste, are thought to have imposed on the Jews a composite forgery claiming inspired origin.

A critical view which pointed out the passages said to have been written down by Moses, and which attributed to the School of the Prophets, in the days of Samuel and of David, the remaining books of which the authorship is not stated, would have met with less opposition, and would have been sufficient to account for all the historical allusions. But even these—few as they are—are uncertain, while the antiquity of literature in Palestine, and of the language of the Pentateuch, are certain. It is inevitable that, just as the Tübingen School of New Testament criticism has found it necessary to beat a

retreat, and to assign earlier dates than formerly to the Gospels, so will the present theory of the Pentateuch, already crumbling away under difficulties of its own creation, be replaced in time by views more moderate, and better founded on the increasing knowledge due to the discovery of new sources of contemporary information.

C. R. Conder.

Art. V.—'THE VISION OF TUNDALE.'

THE medieval visions of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, which reached their highest poetic expression in Dante's *Divina Commedia*, were a species of literature which had attained great popularity long before his day. The desire to form a vivid picture of the world after death, which prompted the eleventh book of the Odyssey, or the myths of Plato in the Gorgias and Republic, was only intensified when Christianity succeeded to the old religion. Even into the less definite conceptions of the Greeks some idea of punishment for sin and reward for virtue had entered, and when in Christian thought Heaven and Hell became clearly separated, it was inevitable that lively imaginations should try to picture the probable state of existence in each. The indications in Scripture, whether of the Old or New Testament, were too meagre to satisfy the craving for detail which was characteristic of the middle ages, but they supplied good hints on which to proceed. Tophet with its pile of 'fire and much wood,' kindled by 'the breath of the Lord like a stream of brimstone,' the 'everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels,' 'the outer darkness,' with its 'weeping and gnashing of teeth,' were sufficient indications for one side of the picture; the Revelation of St. John supplied all that was necessary for the other. It is, in fact, with apocalyptic literature like the vision of St. Paul that the series of such works begins, and, if to this we add a Celtic imagination which was responsible for many

of the earlier accounts, we shall hardly be surprised at any extremes, however extravagant or grotesque.

The *Vision of Tundale*, coming a century and a half before the work of the Italian poet, was thus itself preceded by a number of similar productions, which no doubt suggested its general outlines, and even some of its separate details. Even supposing that Tundale, the narrator, and Marcus, the writer of the vision, were acting in all good faith, they could not help being influenced by earlier works of the same kind, which were especially popular in the English and Irish Church. The earliest of these, as indicated above, is apparently the *Visio Pauli*, originally a Greek work, of which the full Latin text has only recently been brought to light,* but abbreviated Latin versions were made at some early period, and through these it came to be known in the west. Thus Ælfric refers to it in the opening of his homily on the vision of Furseus, as mentioned in the *St. Patrick's Purgatory* of Thomas Wright, who erroneously supposes it to have been 'perhaps a work of the twelfth century.' In these versions, besides the omission of the earlier chapters, an important alteration is made on the original text. There Paul is first taken to Heaven and afterwards to Hell; in the abridged copies the order is reversed, and the influence of this is seen in nearly all the subsequent visions down to Dante's. At the same time it is more natural that the privileged visitant of the other world should begin with the pains of the one place and end with the delights of the other. The vision of Furseus above referred to is also given at some length by Bede, following perhaps a legend printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*.† Our chief interest in this is that St. Furseus was of Irish origin, and that his vision, like that of Dryhthelm, also recorded by Bede,‡ is a thoroughly western product. The vision of Tundale is also that of an Irishman, and with one or two minor exceptions, comes next to these in point of time, although it falls as late as the middle of the twelfth century. In Italy, however, there is the vision of Alberic, attributed to

* Printed in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, Vol. II. No. 3. (1893.)
† Bede : *Eccles. Hist.* III. 19. *Acta Sanct.* Jan. ii. 399 ff.
‡ *Ibid.* V. 12.

the beginning of the same century, which is supposed to have influenced Dante more immediately than any other. Another remarkable vision of later date is that of the Knight Owain in St. Patrick's Purgatory, to which Wright devotes the third chapter of his work. The whole of the English poem on this subject forms an excellent parallel to that of Tundale.

In the case of a work so popular in its own day, a brief review of the steps by which it has become known again in this century may not be without interest. When Lachmann first drew attention to it in 1836, by publishing a fragment of an old German translation of c. 1160, the only version of the original accessible to him was the abridged one given by Vincent of Beauvaix in his *Speculum Historiale*. This in fact was the one mainly, though not exclusively, used by translators and early printers. Another old German translation in verse of the twelfth century, by a priest named Alber, was printed by Hahn in 1840, and about the same time appeared a Dutch prose version from a fourteenth century manuscript. The next in order belongs to this country, being Turnbull's edition (1843) of the Old English version, which will be more fully described afterwards. In the following year Wright gave a short account of the vision in St. Patrick's Purgatory (pp 32-37). Add to these an old Swedish translation, edited in 1844 by George Stephens, now the well known author of the *Old Northern Runic Monuments*, some fragments of an Icelandic one printed by Konrad Gislason in 1860, and the old Italian translation reprinted by Villari in 1865, and it will be seen that we have a considerable literature on the subject before Professor Schade brought out the true original at Halle in 1869. A valuable contribution to the history of the work and its diffusion was made in 1871 by Adolfo Mussafia in the Proceedings of the Vienna Academy. The Icelandic version was also published in full, so far as it exists, in *Heilagra manna sögur*, 1877, and is in one way the most interesting of all the translations from its historic connection. In place of the original prologue by Marcus there is substituted an introductory homily in rhymed prose, which gives the information that 'King Hákon took this book out of Latin and had it made

into Norse for men's improvement and consolation. God give the King for his labour eternal glory and heavenly inheritance, a good long life after this world, and holy majesty in the life eternal.' There can be little doubt that this is King Hákon Hákonsson, known to Scottish history as Haco, and famous for his defeat at Largs. In the account of his death in the Orkneys given by Sturla, it is told how, as he lay ill, he first had Latin books read to him, but as he found it tiring to follow the meaning, he made them read Norse ones instead, beginning with the *Lives of the Saints*. Among these the *Vision of Tundale* would very probably be included, as the King must have valued it highly before he had it translated, and pleasant reading for the warlike King this vision of judgment can hardly have been. That the work later on was in considerable estimation is shown by the fact that parts of four manuscripts are extant, all in the Arna-Magnæan collection in Copenhagen, from which a continuous text can be made up for nearly the whole of the book.

The wonderful popularity of the work during the Middle Ages is, however, most strikingly brought out by Albrecht Wagner in his *Visio Tnugdali: lateinisch und deutsch* (Erlangen, 1882), where for the Latin text he is able to enumerate no fewer than fifty-four manuscripts, chiefly found in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. From the seven oldest of these he produces a text which is in many points much more correct than that given by Schade, and further prints, from a Vatican MS. of the thirteenth century, a curious poem in Latin hexameters, in which the Visions of Tundale and Owain, Furseus and Dryhthelm, and other smaller episodes are combined into one variegated whole. The German section of the book contains reprints of Lachmann's fragments and of Alber's poem; the latter is of much the same length as the old English rendering, somewhat over 2000 lines.

This old English version, after an interval of fifty years, has also been again made accessible in the careful edition by the same scholar.* Of Turnbull's small octavo volume entitled

* Tundale, *das mittelenglische gedicht über die Vision des Tundalus.* Albrecht Wagner. Halle. 1893.

The Visions of Tundale, together with Metrical Moralizations, etc., published at Edinburgh by T. G. Stevenson, in 1843, and illustrated with a grotesque frontispiece from the pencil of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, only 105 copies were printed, and it is therefore extremely rare. Apart from this, however, the fact that Turnbull only made use of one manuscript, and that not the best, made a new edition very desirable, and the old one may now safely be left as a bibliographical rarity. The new editor has very ably discharged his task. Following as his main text one of the Royal MSS. in the British Museum, he has improved it from the three other copies known to exist, and in a copious critical apparatus gives all the various readings not admitted into the text. The poem must have been originally composed in the Northern dialect of English, as the editor shows with almost superfluous elaborateness and some unnecessary doubts,* whereas the manuscript in the Advocates' Library from which Turnbull took his edition had been written by a very Southern scribe. The result of this is that many forms of words are altered, as was the custom of the scribes when copying texts in other dialects than their own, and is in fact made more difficult to read, for the spelling of Northern English in the fifteenth century is much more familiar to modern eyes than that of Southern. As a matter of fact not one of the manuscripts retains the original Northern speech of the poem, but the Royal manuscript comes nearest it, and is therefore the proper one to select as the base of an edition. Beyond making up a very good text in this way the editor has added few notes, and these mainly refer to various readings.

As the only account of this remarkable vision hitherto offered to the general reader is the very short one by Wright, in the work already cited, a new one may not be without some interest in view of the labour that has been spent on the subject since he wrote. As a specimen of popular religious views in the Middle Ages it has no slight value, and those who care

* *E.g.*, that on the rhyme of *wones : stones* (p. xix.) The form *wanes* required to rhyme with *stanes*, is a regular Northern one, and need have caused no difficulty.

to trace the connection between severity of punishments and prevalence of crime, will find in this, like others of its kind, a curious illustration of how ineffectual the most terrible threatenings are to repress violations of any law. Tundale's horrors may have scared a few; the mass they would leave perfectly untouched. In the relation of them, however, the lover of the picturesquely horrible will find enough to satisfy him: for lurid tints and bold strokes the genius of Tundale himself, or the pen of his interviewer, do not yield even to Dante's far more famous work.

It has been the hero's not unnatural fate to have his name slightly altered. Properly it ought to appear in the formidable shape of *Tnugdal*, but the Hibernian combination at the beginning seemed impossible to foreign scribes, who copied it as *Tungdalus*, and hence arose a variety of forms, such as Tundalus, Tondalus, Tugdalus, Tungulus, etc. The Icelandic version made a bold hit at another Celtic name and altered it into *Duggal*, while in the Italian it becomes almost classical as *Tantolo* and *Theodolo!* Tundale is the form adopted in the Old English poem, and being more easy to handle than the original, had best be retained for all practical purposes.

The prologue of Brother Marcus, which is regularly omitted in the translations except that the date is sometimes copied, is addressed to a devout lady abbess, named only as G., who had requested him to write this remarkable narrative. This meagre indication is happily supplemented in the German translation by Alber, who, omitting the name of Marcus, says that it was written by a good monk of St. Paul's cloister in Regensburg, and at the instance of three ladies, named Otegebe, Heilke and Gisel. The death of a 'Gisila Abbatissa' is noted by a twelfth century hand in a record examined by Wagner (*Vis. Tnug.* p. xxiv.), so that we need not hesitate to combine Alber's account with that of the prologue itself.

Marcus, though a modest man and doubtful of his ability, is ready to obey the abbess's command. 'It pleased your prudence that our pen, though unlearned, should transfer from barbarian into Latin speech the mystery that was shown to a certain Tnugdal, a native of Ireland, and send it to be transcribed

by your diligence. . . . We have written it for you faithfully, just as he who saw these things related the vision to us.' From this it would appear that Marcus had first taken down the account of Tnugdal in Irish, and afterwards translated it into Latin. In that case we may regret the loss of an Irish text which would have been a worthy sequel to the *Vision of Adamnan*. It also follows that Marcus himself was an Irishman, so that the story probably lost nothing in the telling. It is possible, as Wagner suggests, that the abbess improved the Latin of the *Vision* itself, leaving only the prologue exactly as Marcus wrote it, but in that case the changes would only be verbal.

'This vision,' Marcus goes on to say, 'was seen in the year 1149 (rather 1148), being the second year of the expedition of Conrad, King of the Romans, to Jerusalem, and the fourth of the apostolate of Pope Eugenius II. (correctly III.), the year in which he returned to Rome from the parts of Gaul. In the self-same year also Malachias, Bishop of Down, legate of the Irish, with whose life and doctrine all the Western Church shone, died at Clarevaux while coming to Rome, whose life, full of miracles, Bernard Abbot of Clarevaux is writing in a clear style. Of him we shall make mention in the proper place if God permit. Nehemiah too, Bishop of Cloyne, a man eminent in birth, wisdom and holiness, being a holy and venerable old man of 95 years, this same year, in his own chair, departed from the troublesome conflict of this life to the joys of life eternal. Of whose life and miracles we shall sometime speak, knowing that you desire the examples of the saints for your edification.' If the use of the present tense (*transcribit*) in reference to Bernard can be regarded as decisive, it would fix the date of the work of Marcus as previous to 1153, the year in which Bernard died. In any case all the evidence goes to show that it must be earlier than 1160, which is the most likely date for the oldest German version.

The first chapter opens with a short description of Ireland, which is also omitted in many of the versions, such as the English. Its geographical position is defined; it lies in the Western Ocean, having to the south England, to the east the

Scots and Britons, 'whom some call Welsh,' to the north the Catti (Caithness) and the Orkneys, and to the south Spain. (Both England and Spain are thus said to be to the *south*, probably the latter is meant for *west*). The island is full of lakes, rivers, and forests, abounds in grain, milk, hòney, and all kinds of fish and game, 'devoid of vineyards, but rich in wine,' and so free from serpents, frogs, toads, and all other venomous creatures,* that even its wood, hides, horns, and earth are known to overcome all poisons. It is famous for its religious men and women, but cruel and renowned in war. It has 34 principal cities, the bishops of which are under two metropolitans, the one having the See of Armagh in the north, and the other that of Cashel† in the south. To the latter place Tundale belonged.

At this point our English version begins with the character of Tundale, whom it makes remarkable for an excess of bad qualities and a corresponding scarcity of good ones. Here, however, the translator has been much harder on him than the original warranted; indeed, has set up a new conception of him altogether. Marcus speaks of him as young, well-born, of happy face, good figure, and courtly breeding, becomingly dressed, great-hearted, skilled in the art of war, affable and merry, 'but (what I cannot tell without sorrow) in proportion as he trusted in the beauty and strength of his body, the less did he care for the eternal salvation of his soul. For, as he himself often now confesses with tears, it annoyed him if anyone tried to speak to him about this, however briefly. He neglected the Church of God, and would not look on the poor of Christ, but for vain glory distributed all he had among jesters, buffoons, and jugglers.' Marcus, as the personal acquaintance of Tundale, ought to have known his character best, but the translator draws up a terrible indictment:—

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* The old German version curiously reverses this statement. Alber interpolates the account of their expulsion by St. Patrick.

† In the Latin *Artimacha* and *Caselensis*. The MSS. and versions naturally corrupt the names. The old German has *Archamacha* and *Crocagensis* (got from lower down), while the Icelandic makes *Artimacha* into *Tikona (!)* In one Latin MS. *Corcagensis (infra)* is made classical as *Karthaginensis*.

'He was a man of wicked fame,
He had enough of all riches,
But he was poor of all goodness;
He was full of treachery,
Of pride, ire, and envy.
Lechery was his play,
And gluttony he loved aye,
With him was no charity.
He was a man without pity;
He loved well contak and strife,
There was no man lived worse life.
Yet would not God his soule tyne
When he it brought from helles pyne,
For his mercy passes all thing.' (20-39).

For three days and nights, as many an inhabitant of Cork who was present can testify, he lay as one dead, during which time 'his soul was in a dreadful way,' and what he suffered during that space his present life bears witness. All these torments, says Marcus, we shall not grudge to write for you (the abbess) for the increase of your devoutness, even as we heard them from the mouth of him who saw and suffered them.

The catastrophe happened in this way. Among Tundale's many friends was one who owed him the price of three horses. There was such a thing as honest trading even in Ireland of the twelfth century, but here again the translator blackens the character of Tundale:—

'He was ay full of treachery,
Of his mannéres men had drede,
For he was wicked in word and deed.
Through okker (*usury*) would he silver len,
For five shilling he would have ten,
And nothing lend for Goddis sake.' (50-55).

This treacherous usurer is a sheer figment, for which the translator is alone responsible. The time of credit having expired, Tundale went to ask for payment, and after staying with his friend for three days brought up the matter. The latter answered that he had not the money ready, and Tundale in great wrath prepared to go home again, but the debtor begged him to stay and eat with him first. Tundale yielded and sat down at the table, laying aside the axe that he had in his

hand, but when he had stretched out his hand to the food he found himself unable to draw it back again. Then with a loud cry he entrusted the axe to his friend's wife, saying: 'Take charge of my axe, for I die.' The English is greatly expanded:—

> ' "Dame," he said, "for charity
> Look me my sparth, where e'er it stand,
> That I brought with me in my hand,
> And help me now from here away,
> I hope * to die this ilkè day,' etc. (86-90).

With that Tundale fell down, and all the signs of death were apparent in him; the Latin describes them at length, but the English omits them, as well as the vivid description of the general confusion caused by the occurrence. 'The servants run in, the food is removed, the retainers cry out, the host laments, the body is laid out, the bells are rung, the clergy come running, the people marvel, and the whole city is confounded by the sudden death of a good knight.' A little warmth could however be detected in the left breast, and on this account he was allowed to remain unburied. There he lay from about the tenth hour on Wednesday till the same time on Saturday, when in the presence of all those who had assembled to his funeral he returned to life, and after partaking of the sacrament gave all his goods to the poor, and vowed to change his manner of life. His account of his experience was as follows:—

When the soul left the body, being conscious of its guilt, it began to fear and knew not what to do. It tried to return into the body, but being unable to do this, stood weeping and lamenting. Then it saw coming towards it such 'an ugly rout of wicked ghosts,' as filled not only the house but all the streets and squares of the city. The translator here improves on his text by giving a description of the demons:—

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* The old use of *hope* is about as curious to modern ears in this passage as in the lines of William Stewart:—

> 'Freindlie affection causit them to greet,
> In *hope* again that they suld never meet.'

'Their bodies were both black and foul,
Full grimly on him gan they scowl,
Their ene were broad, burning as fire,
And they were full of anger and ire ;
Their mouths were wide, they gaped fast,
The lowe out of their mouths they cast ;
They were all full of fire within,
Their lippès hung beneath their chin ;
Their teeth were long, their throatès wide,
Their tongues hung out on ilka side.
On feet and hands they had long nails,
And great hornès and tattered tails ;
Their nailès seemed as grounden steel,
Sharper thing might no man feel.' (145-187).

These surrounded the poor soul with terrible taunts and threats, which are excellently rendered in the translation, but the omnipotent and merciful Lord took pity on it and sent his angel, whom the soul saw approaching like a star. The angel on arriving assured it of the mercy of God, and ordered it to follow him. The soul then ventured to leave the body, beside which it had been standing hitherto, and placed itself under the angel's protection, at which all the devils cried out against the injustice of God—

'Tundale is ours through skill and right
For he has served us both day and night ;
Full wickedly has he lived long,
If we him lose, thou does us wrong.' (277-280.)

With that they fiercely attacked each other and departed, *nimio fetore relicto*,—a feature which appears in most of the visions. The soul, being ordered to follow, was apprehensive of being carried off, but the angel said, 'Fear not, there are more with us than with them.'

First they came to a deep valley filled with burning coals, and fitted with an iron lid six cubits thick, hotter than the coals themselves and smelling horribly. On this iron plate a multitude of souls alighted, and were melted till they ran through it as wax is strained through a cloth, and so arriving in the fire below were again renewed to suffer the same torments. This, the angel explained to Tundale, was the punishment of murderers, which he had deserved to experience, but would be permitted to escape.

Next they arrived at a huge mountain with only a narrow path across it, on one side of which was a dark sulphurous fire, and on the other snow, ice, hail and storms. Here there were demons with red hot iron forks and tridents, throwing the souls from the one part to the other. There is a similar punishment of heat and cold in other visions, such as that of Adamnan; here it is assigned to those who lie in wait for their neighbour to injure him.

Another trait of Adamnan's vision appears in the valley they now come to, which was spanned by a bridge a mile in length and only a foot in breadth. Those who attempted to cross it fell into the darkness below, from which the rushing of a river of sulphur and the wailings of the tormented could be heard. Only one person was seen to cross the bridge, and he was a priest and pilgrim, who, as the angel afterwards explained, was only on a visit of inspection in order that he might enjoy heaven all the more after having seen the pains of the wicked. The angel led Tundale's soul safely across the bridge, and told him that this punishment was ordained 'for proude men and bostous.'

After long darkness they saw before them a beast of incredible size and horror, surpassing all the mountains Tundale had ever seen; its eyes were like hills of fire, and its mouth could admit 9000 armed men at once. This mouth was curiously divided into three entrances by two giants, whose heads and feet touched its upper and lower jaws, but one of them was reversed and stood on his head. Out of the mouth came fire and stench, and from within could be heard the lamentations of souls, which a multitude of fiends were driving in at the mouth, and maltreating as they did so. This beast was named Acherons, and swallowed all the covetous and avaricious, and to it are applied the words of Job xl. 23, 'He trusteth that he can draw up Jordan into his mouth,' to which the Icelandic translation adds that Jordan means Christian men, because baptism began there. 'Those who appear reversed between its teeth are giants, and in their day none were found so faithful in their own way of life; their names you know well, they are called Fergus and Conall.' Unhappy

Fergus mac Róich and Conall Cernach! many a gallant feat they did in the days of Conchobhar and Cuchulainn, and many a fix they got into, but surely never one like this, nor does the angel give any satisfactory reason for using them as door-posts. The soul being here deserted by the angel was immediately seized by the fiends and thrown into the beast; 'and what and how great torments he suffered there, even if he himself were to be silent one might easily learn by the colour of his face and the change in his life.' For brevity's sake only a few of these are given 'for the edification of readers.' At length the soul somehow or other found itself outside the beast again, and was rejoined by the angel.

They went on again and came to a lake whose waves rose so high as to hide the heavens. Across this was another bridge two miles long and a palm broad, all set with sharp iron spikes, and under it a host of terrible beasts as large as towers, and spouting fire, waiting to devour souls. On the bridge stood one lamenting, with a load of grain on his back. This was the punishment of thieves, especially such as had committed sacrilege, the nature of which is carefully explained. Tundale having once stolen his godfather's cow was compelled to drive it over the bridge, his excuse, that he gave it back, not being accepted. In the middle of the bridge he met the man who carried the grain: they could neither pass nor turn back, and stood there lamenting and trembling, until somehow or other they found themselves past each other, and the angel relieved Tundale of the cow, and healed his wounded feet. *

The house of Phristinus had next to be visited: it was as large as a mountain and round as a baker's oven, and out of it came flames that stretched for a mile about. As they approached, they saw standing at the doors demons with all kinds of instruments † for mutilating the souls of those who had been luxurious and licentious.

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* Here the Swedish version interpolates a punishment from some other source, that of souls hung up by various limbs according to their several offences.

† The list is curious both in the Latin and English :—'Cum securibus et cultris et sarmentis et bisacutis, cum dolabris et terebris et falcibus acutissimis, cum wangiis et fossoriis, etc.'

'Summe had syculus, knyvus and saws,
Summe had twybyll, brodax and nawges,*
Cultoris, sythus kene wythall,
Spytyll-forkus the sowlys to fall.'—(721-724).

'Of that sight Tundale had wonder,
How they smote those souls asunder.
Some struck off heads and some thees *(thighs)*,
Some arms, some leggis by the knees.
Some the bodies in gobbets small,
Yet *(re)*covered those souls together all,
And eft were smitten in sunder again.'—(729-735).

Tundale naturally was scared, and 'besought the angel bright that he would let him away sculk,' but was refused. The demons dealt with him as with the rest, and in that place he saw many awful torments, too realistic for transcription, which were suffered not only by secular persons, but even by ecclesiastics, monks and nuns, an admission which Marcus is extremely sorry to make. On issuing from this again, it knew not how, the soul asked where the mercy of God was, and received from the angel a choice homily on the theme that God though merciful is also just.

Sinners under the guise of religion were not yet done with however. Another beast came in sight, the description of which is faithfully rendered by the translator:—

'Two great winges that were black
Stood on either side his back.
Two feet with nails of iron and steel
He had, that were full sharp to feel.
He had a long neck that was small,
But the head was great withall.
His ene were broad in his head,
And all burning as fire red.
His mouth was wide, he was side-lipped,
His snout was with iron tipped.'—(861-870).

This beast vomited flames and sat on a frozen lake. It devoured all the souls that came in its way, and after digesting them voided them into the icy lake, where as usual, they were renewed to endure fresh torments. There grew within

* *Nawges* is apparently = *naws*, *nawls*, a provincial form of *awl*.

them serpents with fiery heads and iron beaks, which then came out over every part of the body, but being prevented from issuing completely by their barbed tails tore and rent the unhappy souls to the bones. This is a section that Marcus dwells upon at much greater length than would be pleasant to transcribe, and even the old versifier cuts it short. These were the souls of monks, canons, nuns, and other ecclesiastics, who either by dress or tonsure lie to God, but although specially devoted to them this torture included others guilty of excessive wantonness. Even this Tundale was subjected to, but saved by the angel before it had quite come to the worst.

For a long time they went on again, with no other light but that given by the angel, following a narrow path that led down a deep precipice, and the further they descended the less did the soul expect ever to return. This being explained as the way to death, Tundale was surprised, remembering that 'broad is the way, &c.', but the angel explained that the phrase was metaphorical. At length they came to a valley filled with forges, from which issued loud wailings. This was the domain of Vulcan, whose satellites seized on Tundale with burning tongs, and threw him into one of the furnaces. Then they blew the bellows till he and all the others with him were melted, when they thrust iron tridents into the mass and threw it on the anvil, where a hundred souls together were forged into a single piece. This was then thrown to other smiths, who caught it with burning tongs and repeated the process. Finally the angel rescued Tundale and asked him how he felt, to which it is not surprising that he was unable to give an answer.

All the souls already seen were only waiting for judgment, those now to be visited in the lower depths were doomed already. Suddenly the soul felt trembling and intolerable cold and stench, and worst of all the angel disappeared, leaving it in total ignorance, for, as Solomon says, 'there is no knowledge nor wisdom in the grave.' Then it heard loud cries, wailings, and thunders, so horrible that 'neither our littleness can comprehend them, nor his tongue, as he confessed, be able to relate them.' These issued from a square

pit like a cistern, out of which rose a column of fire and smoke. In this were shot up 'as sparks of fire through windes blast,' crowds of souls and demons which then fell back again into the pit. This perpetual geyser of souls is a feature of several other visions, such as those of Adamnan and Dryhthelm. Tundale, lamenting at the sight, was threatened by the demons in choice rhetoric, in rendering which the English version is very successful, as also in the description of the fiends themselves, with their eyes like 'brennyng lampes,' their 'sharpe tuskes,' and the 'nayles on their clookes that were lyke anker-hookes.' Indeed, 'no wonder it was if he were feared,' until the return of the angel saved him.

The greatest spectacle of all yet remained to be seen. Tundale was to be treated to a sight of the adversary of mankind himself, whose position in the 'deepest pot of Hell,' as Dunbar calls it, reminds one of the place assigned to Lucifer by Dante. To the edge of this pit Tundale advanced and looked down into it,

> 'But though a man had verily
> A hundred heads on one body,
> And as many mouths withal,
> As to ilka head should fall,
> And ilka mouth above the chin
> A hundred tongues had within,
> And ilka tongue could show the wit
> That all men have that liven yet,
> All were not enough half to tell
> That he saw in the pit of hell.' (1289-1298).*

What he did see, however, was the Prince of Darkness himself, the Enemy of mankind, the Devil, who in size exceeded all the beasts that he had seen before. In fact, Tundale gave no description of his bulk, and Marcus is too conscientious to invent one; the English translator is less scrupulous, but fails miserably to rise to the occasion, as he merely makes him a hundred cubits long, forty broad, and nine thick, which are

* Although this passage may have been suggested by Virgil's *Non, mihi si linguæ centum sint oraque centum*, etc. (Æn. vi. 625), it is really closer to one in the *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*.

certainly curious measurements. He was black as a crow, and of human shape, except that he had a tail and a thousand arms, each arm a hundred cubits long and ten thick (which may have misled the translator); on every arm again were twenty fingers, each a hundred palms long and ten thick; armed with iron nails longer than a knight's lance. In addition, he had a 'mekil long snowt,' and his tail was fitted with sharp stings for torturing the souls. This horrible spectacle was lying flat upon a glowing griddle or grid-iron:—

> 'Burning coals lay there under,
> But they were dim, and that was wonder;
> Many fiends, as tattered foals,
> With bellows blew at the coals.' (1341-1344).

To this Lucifer was fastened by burning chains of iron and brass attached to every limb and joint, and when in his agonies he turned from one side to the other, he clutched with all his hands at the immense multitude of souls around him, and squeezed them 'as a thirsty rustic does grapes.' Then with a single breath he scattered all the souls into every part of Gehenna, and the pit shot up a stinking flame, but on drawing in his breath again they were all brought back and swallowed by him. This multitude consisted partly of angels of darkness and partly of the children of Adam who did not deserve mercy, even to prelates and the powerful ones of this world who abused their offices. On this the angel discoursed at length, but Tundale, seeing many of his intimate friends among the number, became anxious to retire, and the angel led him away with promises of seeing the joys of the friends of God.

In the rest of the narrative there is no such sharp distinction between Purgatory and Heaven as is found in some other visions. In fact the first part of Tundale's vision is really Purgatory, as only in the lowest depths are the souls beyond all hope of deliverance. As he now went on with the angel the darkness disappeared, and he became filled with light and joy. At last they saw before them a very high wall under which a great number of men and women suffered from wind and rain, hunger and thirst, 'but they had light and felt no stench.' These had been bad, but not very; they tried to live

honestly and well, but gave too little to the poor, therefore they were subjected to this for some years.

In a little they came to a gate, which opened of its own accord, and entering they saw a field full of flowers, in which was a countless multitude of souls. There was no night there, and in it was a fountain of living water. Tundale broke out into rejoicings, and asked of what souls this was the resting-place. 'There,' said the angel, 'dwell those who have not been very good, who have been taken out of torment but are not yet worthy of communion with the saints.'

A little further on Tundale saw two kings, whom he recognized as Conchobhar and Donnchadh.* At this he was surprised as they had been cruel men, and deadly enemies in their lifetime. The angel, however, explained that they had suffered before their death: Conchobhar was long ill and vowed to be a monk; Donnchadh was long in prison and gave all his goods to the poor. The names are so common among Irish kings that identification is difficult, but Conchobhar may be that son of Diarmaid ua Briain, and King of Munster, who 'in tribulatione bonâ quievit' at Cill-Dalua in 1142.

Next they saw a palace whose walls were all of gold, silver and precious stones: it had neither door nor window, yet all might enter it who chose. Inside it was as clear as if many suns were shining there. Here Tundale saw a golden throne on which sat his former lord, King Cormac, in glorious apparel, to whom many came and made presents, and priests robed as if to celebrate mass came before him with the sacred vessels. These were all the poor men and pilgrims to whom the king was so liberal while in the body. 'Did my master suffer any torments after he left the body?' asked Tundale. 'He did,' said the angel, 'and does so still. Wait and we shall see.' Before long the palace grew dark, the king rose from his seat, 'grette and gowled,' and went out. Tundale following saw him in fire to the waist, and above that clad in a hair-cloth.

* In the Latin *Conchober* and *Donacus*. The various translations make great havoc of the names, the MSS. of the English one having *Cantaber*, *Concelere* and *Botoler*. The last form has evidently come from misreading *Kōcober*, but Wagner strangely enough leaves it in the text.

This he had to endure for three hours out of the twenty-four, the fire because he had broken his marriage vow, and the hair because he had slain a nobleman at St. Patrick's shrine. This is no doubt Cormac mac Carthaigh, 'chief king of Desmond and bishop-king of Erinn in his time as regards piety and the presentation of jewels and valuables to clerics and churches,' who fell by treachery in 1138, 'and a blessing be with his soul,' say the *Annals of Loch Cé*.

Passing in some mysterious way through a wall of silver they came to a delightful place filled with men and women in white raiment, 'singing aye so merrily and making joy and melody.' These were married persons who had faithfully kept their vows, ruled their households well, and given liberally to the poor, to pilgrims and to the Church. The next wall was of gold, and passing through it they found golden thrones adorned with gems and covered with rich cloths, on which sat martyrs and others who had renounced worldly desires, both men and women. They were gloriously apparelled, their faces shone like the sun, and before them were golden lecterns, on which lay books with golden letters, from which they sang praises to the Lord. After that they found monks and nuns living in tents of purple and gold, in which were all kinds of musical instruments playing of their own accord. Here Tundale was not allowed to enter, because they enjoyed the presence of the Holy Trinity, and anyone who entered would become one of them. Above them was a bright firmament from which were suspended by chains cups and phials, cymbals and bells, lilies and golden spheres, while angels flying about among the chains produced most delightful music.

Under a huge tree which bore all kinds of fruit, and in whose branches various birds sat and sang, Tundale next saw many men and women living in cells of ivory and gold, dressed in regal garments, with golden crowns and sceptres, ceaselessly praising God. These were the builders and defenders of the Holy Church, who lived piously and justly while on earth.

Next came a wall of precious stones, evidently taken from that of Revelations, from the top of which Tundale saw the nine orders of angels, and heard unspeakable words. It is

plain to all, says Marcus, how pleasant and sublime it would be to be there among the choirs of holy angels, to see the company of patriarchs and prophets, and the army of martyrs clothed in white, to hear the new song of the virgins, and above all, to feel Him merciful and loving, who is the bread of angels and the life of all. The English translator has not thought this last part definite enough, and expands it into:—

> 'They see the Holy Trinity,
> God sitting in his majesty;
> They beheld fast his sweet face,
> That shone bright over all that place. . . .
> It seven times brighter was in sight
> Than ever sun that shone so bright,
> The which sight is food to angells,
> And life to spirits that there dwells.' (2111-2122).

From this point they could see not only all the glories already described, but also all the torments and the whole world at a glance, 'for nothing can blunt the sight of the creature that has once been permitted to behold the Creator of all.' This comprehensive view required no turning about to accomplish, which is a hard enough thing to grasp, but not so hard as that in the Vision of Adamnan, where the saints and pilgrims in heaven are said to be all face to face.

Among those whom Tundale saw here was his patron saint Ruadan, no doubt Ruadhan of Lothra, who was one of Ireland's twelve apostles and prime saints, and of whom 'a very ancient vellum says that in life and conduct he was like to Matthew the Apostle.' Then came St. Patrick himself, attended by a crowd of bishops, four of whom Tundale recognized, to wit, Celestinus* (*i.e.*, Cellach), Archbishop of Armagh (1106-1129), and Malachias, who held that office later (1134-1148; Muircheartach came between them), and who came to Rome in the time of Pope Innocent, and was by him appointed legate and archbishop. He founded fifty-four† establishments

* Also called Celsus. The Latin names are mere chance equivalents for the Gaelic, like Thaddæus and Theophilus for Thady or Teague. So the real name of Malachias was Maelmaedhoig ua Morgair: the same rendering of it is given on the margin of the *Chronicum Scotorum*.

† So the Latin text and the poem, which expresses the number by *bis ter terna ter*: the English has 'four and *fourty*.'

of monks, canons and nuns, and provided them with all necessaries. The other two were Christian, Bishop of Lyons (1126-1138), brother germane of Malachias, and Nehemias, Bishop of Cloyne (1140-1148), already mentioned in the introduction along with Malachias. An empty seat beside them was reserved for one of their brethren who had not yet departed.

Tundale would fain have stayed there, but the angel told him it could not be, and without any appreciable interval the soul again felt itself laden with the body. He opened his eyes and saw the clerics standing round, and, having received the sacrament, he gave all his possessions to the poor. 'All that he had seen he afterwards related to us, and advised us to lead a good life, and preached with great devotion, humility and knowledge the Word of God, which before he had not known. But we, because we are unable to imitate his life, have been zealous to write this at least for the good of those who read it.' In conclusion, Marcus asks the Abbess to remember him in her prayers. The English translator has taken considerable liberties with the ending, even telling of Tundale's final departure:—

> 'In Heaven evermore to dwell,
> Where more joy is than tongue may tell,
> To the which joy he us bring
> That made heaven, earth, and all thing,
> Ilk one of you that has heard me,
> Say "Amen" for charity.'—(2349-2354).

Tundale's vision, while it necessarily has much in common with others of the kind, is not wanting in a certain vastness of conception that places it on a higher level than many of them, while the plain prose narrative, interspersed with the earnest assurances of Marcus, gives to the pictures a show of reality that may account to some extent for the popularity of the work. In the *Divina Commedia*, the poet's personality takes up much more of the foreground than does the miserable soul of Tundale, and the constant conversations carried on between Dante and individual souls removes some of the vagueness and indefinite horror that pervades our vision. In Tundale's hell there is little individuality; the souls are taken by thousands at a time, and every now and then he himself is lost among

them as he undergoes the successive torments. Despite the mention of a few real persons, there seems to be no personal motive in the work, as there is in the Italian poet's. The latter was no doubt influenced by the visions with a political end in view, which perhaps originated with that of Charles the Fat, recorded by William of Malmesbury, but many of the crude horrors of the earlier legends are softened by his classical tastes. In the Purgatory and Paradise he rises to heights undreamed of by his predecessors, whose aim was neither poetry nor allegory, but pious edification and timely warning to the wicked. To ask how far each one wrote in good faith, would be to raise a question on medieval religious psychology in general that cannot be entered on here. Nor is it easy to guess how far each one based his work on the earlier ones, for a number of the common features might easily have been arrived at independently. In considering this general similarity of the visions it is important to remember the preponderance of the Irish and English element in them; it was mere accident that Tundale's was written down in Germany and not in Ireland itself. It is thus natural that it should stand in close relation to the highly imaginative works of a similar kind preserved in Old Irish, of which the *Vision of Adamnan* has already been referred to.* In every respect the *Visio Tnugdali* is a genuine offshoot of Celtic literature, a product of the same exuberant fancy that originated the *Voyage of Maelduin* or the tales of the Fiann; and this is an element in the history of ideas of eternal punishment that cannot well be set aside. If the East originated the ideas themselves, the West at least took its full share in elaborating them, and succeeded to no small extent in believing the reality of its own conceptions, which is, after all, one of the easiest tasks of the human mind.

W. A. Craigie.

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* It is perhaps curious that in Tundale's heaven there is no mention of Enoch and Elijah, who form such a feature of these works, and appear even in the *Vision of Paul*. The last vanishing trace of this interest is perhaps that in 'Lichtoun's Dreme,' when he reaches Paradise,—

'There was I ware of Enoch and Ely
Sittand on Yule e'en in a fresh green shaw,
Rostand strawberries at a fire of snaw.'

Art. VI.—SOME ASPECTS OF RECENT POETRY.

1. *Poems.* By Francis Thompson. London: Elkin Mathews, and John Lane. 1894.
2. *The Song of the Sword, and other Verses.* By W. E. Henley. London: David Nutt. 1894.
3. *English Poems.* By Richard Le Gallienne. London: Elkin Mathews, and John Lane. 1892.
4. *Odes, and other Poems.* By William Watson. London: John Lane. 1894.
5. *The Shorter Poems of Robert Bridges.* London: George Bell and Sons. 1894.
6. *Ballads and Songs.* By John Davidson. London: John Lane. 1894.
7. *Orchard Songs.* By Norman Gale. London: Elkin Mathews, and John Lane. 1893.

'MEN,' says Mr. George Saintsbury in that excellent volume of common sense criticisms, which he has recently published under the title of *Corrected Impressions*, 'will try to persuade themselves, or at least others, that they read poetry, because it is a criticism of life, because it expresses the doubts and fears, and hopes of the time, because it is a substitute for religion, because it is a relief from serious work, because and because and because. As a matter of fact they (that is to say those of them who like it genuinely), read it because they like it, because it communicates an experience of half sensual, half intellectual, pleasure to them. *Why* it does this no mortal can say, any more than he can say why the other causes of his pleasures produce their effect. *How* it does, it is perhaps not quite so hard to explain; though here also we come as usual to the bounding wall of mystery before very long.' Mr. Saintsbury here undoubtedly expresses the reality of that almost physical delight in poetry, which is probably felt by young folk of both sexes, who in spite or in virtue of their youth have generally the making of great reputations in their hands. A generation

has sprung up which knows Tennyson but also criticises him, which finds nothing but commonplaceness of ideas allied to melody in the old and popular

> A splendour falls on castle walls,
> And snowy summits old in story ;
> A long light shakes across the lakes,
> And the wild cataract leaps in glory,

and which declares perhaps with truth that the author of these lines is not nearly so assured of immortality as Wordsworth. And yet men and still more women, who have reached middle age, must admit that of the purely subjective delights of their youth, none approached nearer to ecstacy than that afforded by the reading of Tennyson's *In Memoriam* or *The Idylls of the King*. 'Young girls,' says M. Taine in that passage—the finest perhaps he ever wrote—in which he compares Alfred Tennyson with Alfred de Musset, greatly to the advantage of the Laureate of Bohemia, 'weep in listening to them; certainly when, a while ago, we heard the legend of *Elaine* or *Enid* read, we saw the fair heads drooping under the flowers which adorned them, and white shoulders heaving with furtive emotion. And how delicate was this emotion! He has not rudely trenched upon truth and passion. He has risen to the heights of noble and tender sentiments. He has gleaned from all nature and all history what was most lofty and amiable. He had chosen his ideas, chiselled his words, equalled, by the diversity of his style, the pleasantness and perfection of social elegance in the midst of which we read him. His poetry is like one of those gilt and painted stands in which flowers of the country and exotics mingle in artful harmony their stalks and foliage, their clusters and cups, their scents and hues. It seems made expressly for these wealthy, cultivated free business men, heirs of the ancient nobility, new leaders of a new England. It is part of their luxury as of their morality; it is an eloquent confirmation of their principles, and a precious article of their drawing-room furniture.' Here M. Taine illustrates by his observations the truth of Mr. Saintsbury's test of the quality of poetry in the minds of such as genuinely like it—the fact that it communicates a 'half sensual, half intellectual, pleasure

to them.' The girls, whose fair heads drooped and whose white shoulders heaved, when they heard *Enid* or *Elaine* read, may be but the flowers of an essentially artificial Society. Whitman, indeed, was probably right as a prophet, if not as a critic, when he declared Tennyson's poetry to be the swan song of an expiring feudalism. That, however, is beside the mark. The question is, was the 'half sensual, half intellectual pleasure,' which these girls felt real, although it may have owed a good deal to environment, education, and even heredity? M. Taine, with those French eyes of his, which look emotion as boldly in the face as they look scientific truth, has testified that it was. And his evidence is not to be gainsaid.

But this 'half-sensual half-intellectual pleasure' is not the whole, although it may be fully the half, of the truth, about poetry. Let us return to Tennyson; and one may be permitted to linger over him seeing that his seat as a court official and his place in public opinion are still vacant. Tennyson was the delight of hundreds, even thousands, of young men and young women, who were totally unacquainted with Society's drawing-rooms or the 'heirs of the ancient nobility, new leaders of a new England.' What charmed them was the proclamation of such doctrines—'diluted Democracy' though they may amount to—as that kind hearts are more than coronets and simple faith than Norman blood, or the answers to such nursery questions as 'What does little baby say?' If Burns built a throne, Tennyson built a fortune, on simple truth; for surely Mr. Andrew Lang—supreme in the field of literary taste, as Mr. Saintsbury is supreme in the field of literary common sense—is caught napping when he is found writing 'The purchasing public for poetry, must now consist chiefly of poets and *they* are usually poor.' And, although Mr. Saintsbury is evidently suspicious—and rightly suspicious—of the immortality of a poetry, which 'expresses the doubts and fears and hopes of the time,' because these are not the doubts and fears and hopes of all time, yet for how many of us was Tennyson a joy and a consolation, because he did what Mr. Saintsbury dislikes? Is it possible, even at this time of day, to cut Tennyson adrift from—even to conceive him without—such pronouncements as that there is more faith

in honest doubt than half the creeds, or such aspirations as the prayer for the Christ that is to be, or such fears as that Divine Philosophy overstepping all her bounds, may become procuress to the Lords of Hell, or such Liberal-Conservatism as that which bids us be not afraid for truth or the foundations of society even though thrice again the red fool fury of the Seine should pile her barricades with dead, which bids us go peacefully to sleep, pillowed on

> One God, one law, one element
> And one far off divine event,
> To which the whole Creation moves?

His pronouncements may have been but half-truths. His aspirations, hopes, and fears may have been alike and equally evanescent. His Liberal-Conservatism may be but an unavailing barrier against the advance of Socialism and Materialism. But to men, now in middle life, they were all real—real as the belief in Free Trade or the extension of the franchise, as the passion for Scott or the enthusiasm for Macaulay. It is quite possible that Tennyson may yet go—that he may already be going—the way of some of his predecessors and contemporaries, such as Shelley and Browning, and that a Society may be needed to perpetuate his memory. And how lamentably true is Mr. Lang's contention 'Can any things speak more clearly of the decadence of the art of poetry than the birth of so many poetical Societies? They all demonstrate that people have not the courage to study verse in solitude, and for their proper pleasure; men and women need confederates in this adventure. There is safety in numbers, and, by dint of tea-parties, recitations, discussions, quarrels, and the like, Dr. Furnivall and his friends keep blowing the faint embers on the altar of Apollo. They cannot raise a flame!' Such may be the fate of Tennyson. But no Society — not even a clique of log-rollers—was needed to secure him popularity. He gave expression to the intenser emotions and larger movements of his time—or at all events what seemed to be such —to an extent and with a perfection of art to which none of his rivals could lay claim. And when all is said and done, what is the greatest poet of a period but the man who gives the most artistic expression to the deepest feelings of the greatest number?

The temporarily great if not abiding power of Tennyson is shown in the fact that all the poetic developments which have taken place in this country since his ascendancy became pronounced, and Browning, the only one of his contemporaries who can properly be regarded as his rival, was relegated to the worship of a Society, have partaken of the character either of a reaction against or of a development of, his indirect teaching. Take Mr. Swinburne and to a less extent Rossetti. It was their erotics that first brought them notoriety, although in Mr. Swinburne's case it is melody that has ensured him fame. And these erotics were a protest—unavailing perhaps, but nevertheless quite real and resolute—against that pronounced *virginibus puerisque* love in Tennyson's earlier works which assured them the entry into every drawing-room. Or take Mr. William Morris. He has far too original a mind to be either a mere slavish imitator, or a mere wilful rebel. Yet but for Tennysonian influence would he have taken in his earlier poetic days to such subjects as 'The Defence of Guinevere,' and is it quite certain that but for the gardens-and-embroidery side of Tennyson so happily dwelt upon by M. Taine he would have written the 'Earthly Paradise,' that 'huge decorative poem in which slim maidens and green-clad men and waters wan and flowering apple trees and rich palaces are all mingled as on some long ancient tapestry shaken a little by the wind of death?' And finally, the influence of Tennyson is distinctly to be seen in the school of the authors of *vers de société*, such as Mr. Locker, Mr. Lang, and Mr. Austin Dobson; it is curious by the way to recall how an American author designated these modern disciples of Herrick, Carew, and Lovelace as *par excellence* the Victorian poets. Tennyson was emphatically the poet of country-house and Rectory life. Why should not the Chloes and Delias and Phyllidas of What-Is-Called-Society in London have their poets also—and all to themselves? And so Ballades in Blue China and poems written 'at the sign of the Lyre' had their prosperous day. But it was bound to be short. For one thing, men like Mr. Lang and Mr. Dobson—Mr. Dobson with the contagious and not too painful pathos of

'Ever through life the Curé goes,
With a smile on his kind old face;
With his coat worn bare, and his straggling hair,
And his green umbrella-case;'

were originally touched to finer and larger issues than the manufacturing of utterly artificial ballads to the eyebrows of utterly imaginary mistresses. Especially is this true of Mr. Lang, who wrote 'Helen of Troy'—its author's greatest work and single failure—and who, when he lets himself go, as in his poem on Byron, can write thus:—

'Farewell, thou Titan, fairer than the gods!
Farewell, farewell, thou swift and lovely spirit,
Thou splendid warrior with the world at odds,
Unpraised, unpraisable, beyond thy merit;
Chased like Orestes, by the Furies' rods,
Like him at length thy peace dost thou inherit!
Beholding whom, men think how fairer far
Than all the steadfast stars the wandering star!'

A great gulf may seem to be fixed between the poetry which was the vogue a quarter of a century ago and the poetry which is the vogue now. Certainly there could hardly be a greater contrast in spirit than between—

'I met Belle Vane. "He's" still in Spain!
Sir John won't let them marrry.
Aunt drove the boys to Brompton Rink;
And Charley,—changing Charley,—think,
Is *au mieux* with Carry!'

And

'The poor,
The maimed, the halt, the starving come,
Crying for help at every door;
But loud the ecclesiastic drum,
Outbids them; and behind it wait
The bones and cleavers of the State.'

Or

'The chink of gold, the labourer's groans,
The infant's wail, the woman's sob;
Hoarsely they beg of Fate to give
A little lightening of their woes,
A little time to love, to live,
A little time to think and know.'

which lines are to be found in the latest poem of Mr. John Davidson, who, of all the younger poets, is the most strenuous, the most desirous to grapple in verse with the serious questions of the hour. And beyond all doubt reaction is inevitable in literature as in life. A period of genuine enjoyment leads to an awakening in the shape of the conscience-stricken realisation of the fact that after all 'life is real, life is earnest.' Intense delight in middle class comfort or aristocratic luxury is followed—and it is well that it should be followed—by a horror amounting almost to physical pain at the thought of the misery, the privations, and the vice that appear to be the sole inheritance of 'the multitude that are ready to perish,' and that fill the slums of our large cities.

But this reaction, resulting in a turning away from the pleasures of a comfortable life to the contemplation of another kind of existence which is at the very best but a long and often desperate struggle with death, is merely a portion of that larger movement which for want of a better name, we commonly and vaguely style 'realism.' A middle-aged man, who can recall the subjects, largely metaphysical and religious, which vexed thoughtful minds when he was young, and can contrast these with the essentially material problems that vex equally thoughtful minds now, may partially understand the development which may be made in a quarter of a century. It almost looks as if man, terrified by the possibility, involved in Evolution, that he may be after all but the greater ape, had set himself in almost defiant despair, to lead the life of the (presumably) higher animal, and to reproduce it in literature. A melancholy Arnold, brooding on the mystery of the world, came to the conclusion:—

> 'Alone, self-poised, henceforward man
> Must labour, must resign
> His all too human creeds, and scan
> Simply the way divine.'

He, like Tennyson, stood at the parting of the ways in belief. But he did not, like Tennyson, find relief in Broad Churchism, or pin his faith in the 'Christ that is to be.' For him on the contrary, that Christ is dead—

'Far hence he lies
In the lone Syrian town,
And on his grave, with shining eyes,
The Syrian stars look down.'

Yet Arnold still clung to the 'way divine.' A generation of thinkers and poets alike is springing up, the bulk of whom, if they know Arnold at all, regard him as the Encyclopædists regarded Voltaire, with pitying contempt. Probably there is not, as there is on the Continent, a distinct school of Haeckelians, of men who have elevated or degraded Darwinism into a fanaticism of materialism, who are dogmatic atheists, who say there is no future life in the ordinary theological sense, and whose ethic—if they can be said to have any ethic at all—comes to this, that he alone is wise who seeks to make the best of this world, seeing that there is no other world for him to make anything of at all. But as men and women are and must be dependent upon each other, Haeckelianism seeks to make Socialism a science of gregariousness. Gregariousness takes the place of the socio-political spirit; and religion, even in the sense of the Enthusiasm of Humanity, tends to become, even though it may not yet have become, the ecstacy of the senses. Haeckelianism has not yet found its poet; even Socialism in the comparatively mild sense, has not yet found its Ebenezer Elliot. But when he is found, and when he seeks, in accordance with his mission, to apply to life the ideas of which he is at once the repository and the champion, he will certainly not seek to 'scan simply the way divine.' Rather will he endeavour, eagerly if not feverishly, to explore the human way, as the only way open to him. Nor will he be deterred from fulfilling his mission by scruples as to offending the believers in creeds which, whether religious or metaphysical, social or political, he considers to be all compact of superstition. How far the new philosophy of negation is expressed by Ibsen and by writers who have carried Ibsenism much further than their master, it does not fall within the scope of this article to consider. There is no question, however, that although the home of this philosophy is the Continent, it has not been without various results in this country. It is to be seen

in an outbreak of realism and sensuousness—the two things are perhaps allied, but are not necessarily identical—in recent poetry. Both are characteristic of that 'mere animalism' which is the essence of that negative creed, composed more of fear perhaps than of faith, that is seeking to make a modern democracy its own. But, although Haeckelianism may be Evolution aggressive and fanatical if not 'progressive,' it still bears to Darwinism proper the relation of the part to the whole. Whether or not Haeckelianism is destined to win the day, Evolution has certainly already triumphed, and the chief result it has achieved in literature has been, as indeed was but to be expected, the development of specialisation.

Three things, therefore, may be given as characterising recent poetry—realism, sensuousness, and specialisation. On the whole, realism is, of the three, in all respects, the most impressive and the most suggestive of permanence. And the leading modern masters of realism — a realism which was probably never contemplated or dreamed of by Tennyson or Browning—are Mr. Henley and Mr. Davidson, who, dissimilar though they are, are the strongest of contemporary poets, at all events of the school who regard Mr. Swinburne, Sir Edwin Arnold, and the two Morrises as oldsters, if not old-fashioned. Mr. Henley has published several volumes of prose and verse, in all of which the merciless artist is perhaps more in evidence than the sweet singer. But, in spite of the excellence of some of the London 'Voluntaries,' and even of the ardent Kipling patriotism of the 'Song of the Sword,' which appears in his latest volume, I think his best work is to be seen in his 'In Hospital,' mainly because, to a very large extent, it is admittedly a transcript of personal experience. There is the odour of chloroform about the 'Hospital' verses; they are infinitely more suggestive of pain than of pleasure. But they are obviously full of truth. Take for example:—

> 'He had fallen from an engine,
> And been dragged along the metals.
> It was hopeless, and they knew it;
> So they covered him and left him
> As he lay, by fits half sentient,
> Inarticulately moaning.

With his stockinged feet protruded,
Stark and awkward from the blankets.
To his bed there came a woman,
Stood and looked and sighed a little,
And departed without speaking
As himself a few hours after.

I was told it was his sweetheart.
They were on the eve of marriage,
She was quiet as a statue,
But her lip was gray and writhen.'

The first lines are distinctly Zolaesque in their reproduction of misery and pain; but they are relieved by the romance of the last, disguised as that romance is by essentially Scottish pathos. The 'tragedy in humble life' is perfect as it is painful. Nor is it marred by any of those tricks of rhetoric, which the mere poetaster finds refuge in; Mr. Henley commands that 'direct speaking style' which his friend, the late Mr. R. L. Stevenson, so highly commended. Not less real, though in a lighter vein, is 'The Staff-Nurse' (New Style)—

'Kindly and calm, patrician to the last,
Superbly falls her gown of sober gray,
And in her chignon's elegant array
The plainest cap is somehow touched with caste
She talks Beethoven; frowns disapprobation
At Balzac's name, sighs at "poor George Sand's;"
Knows that she has exceedingly pretty hands;
Speaks Latin with a right accentuation;
And gives at need (as one who understands)
Draught, counsel, diagnosis, exhortation.'

Mr. Davidson's realism is quite as genuine as Mr. Henley's. But it is of another sort. Mr. Henley is an artist to the finger-tips; Mr. Davidson is a Scottish preacher—with, apparently, the bottom of his creed of Calvinism knocked out. And like all the best Scottish lay preachers,—like Carlyle, like Burns —Mr. Davidson is at his best when he is most defiant, when he is giving utterance to the very spirit of rebellion. I cannot say, indeed, that I am specially enamoured of the 'Exodus from Houndsditch' which appears in his latest volume, and has secured very high praise from a number of critics. It is impossible to disassociate this phrase from its inventor,

Carlyle, who used it to indicate the escape of the modern spirit from what he evidently regarded as the merely Hebraic conception of the universe. One can quite understand a poem upon the exodus from Houndsditch, regarded as a new Pagan Renaissance, or even as the complete surrender of the supernatural. But if Mr. Davidson had the Carlylian idea in his mind when he wrote 'The Exodus from Houndsditch,' he certainly gives it such a clothing of fantasy that it is not recognisable. Nor can much be said for his 'Ballad in blank verse on the making of a Poet,' which is in many respects the most ambitious of all his efforts, and which undoubtedly represents the attempt of a young man to break with the creed of his father, and to be a creed—and even a god—to himself. But, powerful as it is in many respects, and containing single passages—like the one beginning 'Sparse diamonds in the dead-black dome of night,' at least equal to anything their author has written—it is too violent to be quite real. It is, however, in certain of his less ambitious poems—so far as scope is concerned—that Mr. Davidson's true and special power is exhibited. In his 'Thirty Bob a Week' we have, so to speak, the Confession of Faith of the poor Cockney clerk, who would quarrel with his dreary destiny if he durst—

> 'For like a mole I journey in the dark,
> A-travelling along the underground,
> From my Pillared Halls and broad Suburban Park,
> To come the daily dull official round;
> And home again at night with my pipe all alight,
> A-scheming how to count ten bob a pound.
>
> 'And it's often very cold and very wet,
> And my missis stitches towels for a hunks;
> And the Pillared Halls is half of it to let—
> Three rooms about the size of travelling trunks;
> And we cough, my wife and I, to dislocate a sigh,
> When the noisy little kids are in their bunks.
>
> 'But you never hear her do a growl or whine,
> For she's made of flint and roses, very odd;
> And I've got to cut my meaning rather fine,
> Or I'd blubber, for I'm made of greens and sod;
> So perhaps we are in Hell for all that I can tell,
> And lost and damn'd and served up hot to God.'

Such writing is repellent—perhaps even repulsive—but it has all the reality of passion heated red hot. Equally real—in the sense of being morally squalid—but somewhat softer, is 'The Labourer's Wife,' with the hopeless pathos of—

> 'What a simpleton was I
> To go and marry on the sly!
> Now I work and never play;
> Three pale children all the day
> Fight and whine; and Dick, my man,
> Is drunk as often as he can.
> Oh! my head and bones are sore,
> And my heart is hacked all o'er.'

Mr. Davidson is seen not perhaps at his best—in the sense of most melodious—but certainly at his most real, in a volume bearing the title of *In a Music Hall, and other Poems*, though it is more unequal than *Ballads and Songs*. I should say that there has never been anything of its kind quite so good—at all events quite so modern and true—of their kind as the portraits of the six 'artists' in the series of poems which gives the title to this volume. Take 'Tom Jenks'—

> 'A fur-collared coat and a stick and a ring,
> And a chimney-pot hat to the side—that's me!
> I'm a music-hall singer that never could sing,
> I'm a sort of fellow like that, do you see?
>
> 'I go pretty high in my line, I believe,
> Which is comic, and commonplace too, may be;
> I was once a job-lot, though, and didn't receive
> The lowest price paid in the biz, do you see?
> . . . . . .
>
> 'I'm jolly, and sober, and fond of my wife;
> And she and the kids, they're as happy as me.
> I was once in a draper's; but this kind of life
> Gives a fellow more time to himself, do you see?'

Or take 'Julian Aragon,' the Californian comique:—

> '"My nature's a perennial somersault,"
> So you say, and so I think; but whose the fault?
> If I don't know good from evil,
> Is it wrong to be a devil?
> You don't get lime-juice cordial out of malt.

'But I'm plump and soft and strong and tall and sleek,
And I pocket twenty guineas every week;
I journey up and down,
I've sweethearts in each town,
I'm the famous Californian Comique.'

Or even take poor 'Lily Dale'—

'I can't sing a bit, I can't shout,
But I go through my songs with a birr;
And I always contrive to bring out
The meaning that tickles you, sir.'

They were written for me; they're the rage;
They're the plainest, the wildest, the slyest;
For I find on the music-hall stage,
That that kind of song goes the highest.'

How far and rapidly we have proceeded on the road—is it down the hill?—of realism in these latest years of the century may be gathered by contrasting the 'Thirty Bob a week' of Mr. Davidson with the placid realism of Arthur Hugh Clough.

'A Highland inn amongst the western hills,
A single parlour, single bed, that fills
With fisher or with tourist as may be;
A waiting maid as fair as you can see,
With hazel eyes, and frequent blushing face,
And ample brow, and with a rustic grace,
In all her easy ample motions seen,
Large of her age, which haply is nineteen;
Christian her name, in full a pleasant name,
Christian and Christie scarcely seem the same;
A college fellow who has sent away
The pupils he has taught for many a day,
And comes for fishing and for solitude,
Perhaps a trifle pensive in his mood,
An aspiration and a thought have failed,
Where he had hoped, another has prevailed,
But to the joys of hill and stream alive
And in his boyhood yet at twenty-five.'

To many, in whose eyes Duty is still 'stern daughter of the voice of God,' and still also 'victory and law, when empty terrors overawe,' such passages as this which almost justify the belief that had not Clough fallen upon a period of unrest and felt compelled by his conscience to grapple with its problems, he might have

become a second Chaucer, present the true and only permanent realism—the realism of rest from labour under congenial surroundings. But the other exists and is indeed thrust under the eyes. It may be but a passing fashion, but it is a literary phenomenon of the period which cannot be ignored.

In a time characterised by the fear, if not by the faith, that there is no world but the present, it is but natural that sensuousness, in the comprehensive sense, should be one of the leading features of our poetry. If this world is the only one that we have to look to, let us make the most of it while we may. If it is our destiny to die to-morrow, let us eat, drink, and be merry during the hour which is or seems to be ours. Material science, too, has come to the aid of the new creed of materialism; above all, modern facilities for travel have placed the means and the scenes of that pleasure which is synonymous with the enjoyment of nature, at the command of an enormously increased number of men and women. It is as in the days of the Pagan Renascence; the joys of mere existence have been re-discovered and have been celebrated afresh. It is but natural that poetry, which, according to one definition, ought always to be 'simple, sensuous, passionate,' should seek even more to resolve itself into the ecstacy of the senses. We have had, indeed, the foreshadowing of such verse in Tennyson and Swinburne; the Spenserian splendours of the author of 'The Princess,' and the fierce eroticism of such a poem as the 'Noyades,' have not been without their effect upon the younger poets of the day. Nay, could not Mr. Browning show, in his 'Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister,' that he could have eaten freely of the forbidden tree, had he been so minded, for does not the sensual priest who, on the sly, gloats over his 'scrofulous French novel on gray paper with blunt type,' break out:—

> '*Saint* forsooth! while brown Dolores
> Squats outside the Convent bank,
> With Sanchicha, telling stories,
> Steeping tresses in the tank,
> Blue-black, lustrous, thick like horsehairs,
> Can't I see his dead eye glow,
> Bright as 'twere a Barbary corsair's?
> (That is, if he'd let it show).'

But Tennyson's splendours are chastened, as by the stained glass of a cathedral window. Mr. Swinburne's erotics have scarcely even the sweetness of stolen waters, for they are banned by the Church, and we are for ever reminded by him that the wages of sin is death without benefit of clergy. Browning's excursions into the land of the forbidden again are few and give no impression of self-abandonment—they are but an intellectual and slightly scornful recognition of the permanent truth that underlies the *quicquid agunt homines* creed. The tendency of their successors of the present day, however, is to proclaim *urbi et orbi* the doctrine that there is nothing wrong, nothing to be ashamed of, in this ecstacy of the senses, that whatever is natural is right. So far, more particularly, as the relations between the sexes is concerned, there is a return to the sentiments and even to the mannerisms of Herrick. Take, for example, Mr. William Watson, who is being hailed in many quarters as the one poet of the time who is fit to be ranked with the immortals, and who has undoubtedly shown a marvellous facility in catching the accent of many of them. His themes are as a rule outside—if not above—the world of mere mortal passion. But, when he does condescend to deal with it, it is thus that he writes—

'Tell me not now the tidings sweet,
The news divine ;
A little longer at thy feet
Leave me to pine.
I would not have the gadding bird
Hear from his bough ;
Nay, though I famish for a word,
Tell me not now !
But when deep trances of delight
All Nature seal,
When round the world the arms of Night
Caressing steal,
When rose to dreaming rose says, *Dear*
Dearest—and when
Heaven sighs her secret in earth's ear,
Oh tell me then !

When one recalls

> ‘ Some asked me where the Rubies grew,
> And nothing did I say ;
> But with my finger pointed to
> The lips of Julia.’

one thinks of Mr. Watson’s erotics as so much Herrick and aërated water.

But of all the younger singers the most permanently and fantastically sensuous is Mr. Richard le Gallienne. In what is perhaps his best and is certainly his most ambitious volume, he devoted a long poem, ‘ Paolo and Francesca ’ to the rapture and tragedy of illicit love. He thus dilates upon what must surely be regarded as a Forth Bridge achievement in osculation :

> ‘ Then from the silence sprang a kiss like flame,
> And they hung lost together ; while around
> The world was changed, no more to be the same
> Meadow or sky, no little flower or sound
> Again the same, for earth grew holy ground :
> While in the silence of the mounting moon
> Infinite love throbbed in the straining bound
> Of that great kiss, the long-delaying boon,
> Granted indeed at last, but ended, ah ! so soon.
>
> ‘ As the great sobbing fullness of the sea
> Fills to the throat some void and aching cave,
> Till all its hollows tremble silently,
> Pressed with sweet weight of softly lapping wave ;
> So kissed those mighty lovers glad and brave,
> As a sky from which the sun has gone
> Trembles all night with all the stars he gave—
> A firmament of memories of the sun—
> So thrilled and thrilled each life when that great kiss was done.’

But Mr. Le Gallienne indeed exhibits passion under the microscope. He gives us seventeen studies in ‘ Love Platonic,’ the character of which may be gathered from

> ‘ What was it we swore ?
> Evermore
> I and thou—
> Oh, but Fate held the pen
> And wrote N
> Just before ;

So that now,
See it stands,
Our seals and our hands,
I and thou
Nevermore.'

Sir John Suckling could hardly beat this. Mr. Le Gallienne gives, in 'Cor Cordium' quite as many studies of the more genuine passion; and there is a suggestion, to say the least, of Donne in such verses as

'Darling little woman, just a little line,
Just a little silver word
For that dear gold of thine,
Only a whisper you have so often heard;
Only such a whisper as hidden in a shell
Holds a little wealth of all the mighty sea,
But think what a little is this little note of me.

'Darling, I love thee, that is all I live for—
There is the whisper stealing from the shell,
But here is the ocean, O so deep and boundless,
And each little wave with its whisper as well.'

The same fantastic sensuousness is to be found in almost all of the younger poets. Take as an instance Mr. Robert Bridges, whose earlier work seemed to mark him out as the modern Sir John Denham of the modern Thames. Yet he too can, when he chooses, compete with Mr. Le Gallienne, as in

'I made another song,
In likeness of my love,
And sang it all day long,
Around, beneath, above;
I told my secret out,
That none might be in doubt.

I sang it to the sky
That veiled his face to hear
How far her azure eye
Outdoes his splendid sphere;
But at her eyelids' name
His white clouds fled for shame.'

Here we have not the Mr. Robert Bridges that will live: that is the Mr. Bridges who many years ago gave us 'the clear and gentle stream' with

'There is a hill beside the silver Thames,
Shady with birch and beech and odorous pine,
And brilliant under foot with thousand gems,
Steeply the thickets to his floods decline;
Straight trees in every place
Their thick tops interlace
And pendent branches hail their foliage fine
Upon his watery face.'

The third characteristic of the poetry of the period—and not unallied to the two others—is specialisation. This was, indeed, inevitable, for specialisation has followed in the wake of Evolution. The expert, the perfection of the limited man, is the master of the situation. It was to be expected that he should appear in poetry, that the artist in love should be he who confines himself to his mistress' eyebrow. Even Mr. Davidson and Mr. Henley, in spite of their irrepressible virility, occasionally find it incumbent upon them to specialise. They are not always, it is true, perfectly successful. Take, for example, Mr. Davidson's 'Song of the Train' with its—

'The song it sings
Has an iron sound,
Its iron wings
Like wheels go round.

'Crash under bridges,
Flash over ridges,
And vault the downs;
The road is straight—
Nor stile, nor gate:
For milestones—towns.'

Such lines, I fear, only suggest a comparison with Tennyson's 'Brook,' and one only too favourable for the earlier poet. In Mr. Henley's *London Voluntaries*, again, there is much 'paint,'—the word is this author's own—which is of very high quality, indeed, and his attempt to grapple with the problem of London from the artist-specialist's point of view, is a most gallant one. These *London Voluntaries* would, indeed, deserve the too heavy-shotted eulogium that they have received were their quality always equal to that of such lines as—

'And lo! a little wind and sky,
The smell of ships (that earnest of romance),

A sense of space and water, and thereby
A lamplit bridge touching the troubled sky,
And look, O look, a tangle of silver gleams
And dusky lights, our River and all his dreams,
His dreams of a dead past that cannot die!'

But Mr. Henley in his anxiety—the fatal anxiety of the specialist—to emphasise, is too apt to waste himself in mere resonance. Thus:—

'Out of the poisonous East,
Over a continent of blight,
Like a maleficent Influence released
From the most squalid cellarage of hell,
The Wind-Fiend, the abominable—
The hangman wind that tortures temper and light
Comes slouching, sullen and obscene,
Hard on the skirts of the embittered night.'

This is not poetry; it is, at the best, Mesopotamian rhetoric. Grandiloquence—into which the specialist naturally falls in his desire to invest the little with the attributes of strength—is, indeed, the besetting weakness of the poetry of to-day. Mr. Watson in particular is the Sir Charles Grandison of present day verse. He cannot picture an Angora goat watching a collie dog otherwise than thus:—

'She, throned in monumental calm, surveyed
His effervescence, volatility,
Clamour on slight occasions, fussiness,
Herself immobile, imperturbable,
Like one whose vision seeks the Immanent
Behind these symbols and appearances,
The face within this transitory mask.
And as her eyes with indolent regard
Viewed his upbubblings of ebullient life,
She seemed the Orient Spirit incarnate, lost
In contemplation of the western soul,
Ev'n so methought, the genius of the East,
Reposeful, patient, undemonstrative,
Luxurious, enigmatically sage,
Dispassionately cruel, might look down
On all the fever of the Occident.'

Gorgeous this may be, and no doubt it is a poetry of a kind, but it will not cling to the memory like:—

'The brooding East with awe beheld
Her impious younger world,
The Roman tempest swell'd and swell'd,
And on her head was hurl'd.
The East bow'd low before the blast
In patient deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past
And plunged in thought again;'

which conveys an idea almost identical with Mr. Watson's. But of the younger poets, beyond all question the most pronouncedly specialistic and eloquent is Mr. Francis Thompson, who is discovered by his admirers to be a second Milton. But surely there is more of Samuel Johnson, if not of Madame D'Arblay and Robert Montgomery, in a 'Judgment of Heaven,' which opens thus:—

'Athwart the sod which is treading for God the poet paced with his splendid eyes;
Paradise-verdure he stately passes to win to the Father of Paradise,
Through the conscious and palpitant grasses of intertangled relucent dyes.

The angels a-play on its fields of Summer (their wild wings rustled his guides' cymars)
Looked up from disport at the passing comer, as they pelted each other with handfuls of stars;
And the warden-spirits with startled feet rose, hand on sword, by their tethered cars.

With plumes night-tinctured, englobed and cinctured of saints, his guided steps held on,
To where on the far crystalline pale of that transtellar Heaven there shone
The immutable crocean dawn effusing from the Father's Throne.'

And so thus onward the poet fares

'Till heavily parts a sinister chasm, a grisly jaw whose verges soon
Slowly and ominously felled by the oncoming plenilune,
Supportlessly congest with fire, and suddenly spit forth the moon.'

The only explanation given by way of excuse for the Latinisms with which Mr. Thompson's poems are studded is that they express *nuances* which would otherwise fail to be expressed. He is a martyr to his own art. He is not quite so obscure in such poems as 'Her Portrait,' but surely in the following we have Sir Piercie Shafton revived—

'I have felt what terrors may consort
In women's cheeks, the graces' soft resort ;
My hand hath shook at gentle hands' access,
And trembled at the waving of a tress ;
My blood known panic fear, and fled dismayed,
Where ladies' eyes have set their ambuscade.
The rustle of a robe hath been to me
The airy rattle of love's musketry ;
Although my heart hath beat the loud advance,
I have recoiled before a challenging glance,
Proved gay alarms where warlike ribbons dance.'

And yet Mr. Thompson's smaller studies prove that he is capable of better—at all events simpler—things. In his delicious little sketch 'Daisy' there are some perfect verses, like

'The hills look over on the South,
And southward dreams the sea ;
And, with the sea-breeze hand in hand,
Come innocence and she.'

Of all the specialists among the younger poets, there is, however, none who appears so much at home in his Meissonier-like art as Mr. Norman Gale. His work—of which his 'Orchard Songs' are perhaps the best—has not the accent of greatness or even the note of distinction. But it must at least be admitted that Mr. Gale has mastered his subject to the smallest detail. When he writes of a walk to 'storm the Cotswolds,' he is almost as closely observant as Thoreau.

'The great tit in the apple-tree
Delayed us long :
The shrill staccato song
The creeper chirped amid his industry
Drew us from pollard on to pollard, till
We drank our fill
Of that white-feathered patch, his breast,
His lusty bill
That with detective skill
Stabbed at each crevice in the wood
In search of food.
'Twas through an orchard valley that we passed,
And all the pear-tree boles were painted white.'

Mr. Bridges is not, perhaps, quite so photographically accurate as Mr. Gale, but when he lets himself go he gives the impression of

greater abundance of reserve force. None other of the younger poets could, for example, tell the last chapter of the fall of an autumn storm better than Mr. Bridges has done here:

> 'The storm is over, the land hushes to rest;
> The tyrannous wind, its strength fordone,
> Is fallen back in the west
> To couch with the sinking sun.
> The last clouds fare
> With fainting speed, and their thin streamers fly
> In melting drifts of the sky.
> Already the birds in the air
> Appear again; the rooks return to their haunt,
> And one by one,
> Proclaiming aloud their care,
> Renew their peaceful chant.
> Torn and shattered the trees their branches again reset,
> They trim afresh the fair
> Few green and golden leaves withheld from the storm,
> And awhile will be handsome yet.
> To-morrow's sun shall caress
> Their remnant of loveliness;
> In quiet days for a time
> Sad Autumn lingering warm
> Shall humour their faded prime.'

This is verse of a very fine quality, and full of reality. The little volume from which I have taken it is not all so excellent, but yet it contains so many good things that I feel confident that although, at present, Mr. Bridges is one of the least obtrusive and least 'boomed' of our poets, he will, fifty years hence, be accounted one of the first—if not positively the first—of the end-of-the-century artists. For that simplicity which used to be regarded as the very soul of poetry, it would be hard to beat this from 'The Winnowers':—

> 'One turns the crank, one stoops to feed
> The hopper, lest it lack,
> One in the bushel scoops the seed,
> One stands to hold the sack.
>
> 'We watched the good grain rattle down,
> And the awns fly in the draught;
> To see us both so pensive grown
> The honest labourers laughed:

'Merry they were, because the wheat
Was clean and plump and good,
Pleasant to hand and eye, and meet
For market and for food.

'It chanced we from the city were,
And had not got us free
In spirit from the store and stir
Of its immensity;

'But here we found ourselves again
Where humble harvests bring
After much toil but little grain
'Tis merry winnowing.'

'To see us both so pensive grown
The honest labourers laughed,'

is worthy of Goldsmith or of the Cowper who wrote 'John Gilpin.'

I have omitted many of the younger poets from this survey. That was inevitable, because what Byron said of heroes in his day may be said of poets in our own—

'Every year and month sends forth a new one,
And, after cloying the *Gazettes* with cant,
The age discovers he is not the true one.'

Scarcely indeed does there appear a new number of *The Yellow Book*—that extraordinary production, which itself holds the mirror up to the 'end-of-the-century' British literature,—but a new poet makes his appearance in it. Possibly enough one of these may be the 'demigod whom we await.' There is at least promise, in the shape of Celtic fire and lyrical daintiness, in Mr. W. B. Yeats, but he has not yet done enough to justify any prediction as to his future. Sweetness, too, and sincerity, and what is known as 'willowy elegance,' mark the verse of Mr. Arthur Symons. But, in the meantime, he is so obviously in the grasp of the French Decadence, that the criticism of *aut Verlaine aut diabolus* which has been passed upon him, seems but too well justified. It will be time enough to endeavour to give him his place in British letters when he has done something which can fairly be regarded as original.

The thin austerity of Thoreau will, in spite of his genuine

love of nature and his uncompromising veracity, prevent him from being ever regarded as a profound critic. Yet one observation of his seems specially applicable to the poetry of the present day:—'Much verse fails of being poetry because it was not written exactly at the right crisis, though it may have been inconceivably near to it.' We have 'much verse' at the present time which just falls short of being poetry in the true sense of the word, because it has not been 'written exactly at the right crisis.' When the hour, or the poetical moment comes, the man will doubtless appear. Many have been, or felt themselves, called to write the song of the new era, but it remains to be seen whether even Mr. Davidson has been chosen. The great bulk of the verse that is being produced has the air of pioneer poetry. It has vigour, audacity, self-consciousness, and at least the instinct for splendour in style. But it has also many and equally obvious weaknesses,—ultra-sensuousness, Herrick-like affectations, grotesque ornateness, no less grotesque minuteness in the description of details. One thing only is certain: the end of the century sees the earlier Victorian period finally broken with. Already Mr. Swinburne is adored rather than read; and Mr. Browning is the fetish of a Society. Tennyson? Well, Mr. Lewis Morris has been made a knight, and is not Mr. Watson a 'survival' of Tennyson? But a knighthood is the poet's retiring allowance of dignity after years of respectable if mediocre service; and is not the industrious and musical author of *Lachrymæ Musarum*, who can imitate any poet, neither more nor less than a bundle of 'survivals?' The reign of Tennyson—of cosmic pantheism, of feudal picturesqueness—is over. Whether a greater era is about to dawn with the commencement of a new century, it would be impossible to say. Nor is the character of the present poetical output such as to justify a confident prediction.

WILLIAM WALLACE.

Art. VII.—SANCTA SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople: A Study of Byzantine Building. By W. R. Lethaby and Harold Swainson. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

THE Church of Sancta Sophia at Constantinople has been, and still remains at the present day, practically a sealed book to the archaeologist and the student of architecture. While the great architectural monuments of the past in other parts of Europe are easily accessible for the purposes of practical study and analysis, it is only by stealth that one can examine the structure of this church and glean fresh information regarding the details of its construction and decoration. We therefore gladly welcome any work, like the volume now before us, that helps to increase our knowledge of this interesting building, which, ever since its erection more than 1350 years ago, has been a source of wonder and delight to all beholders.

Once only did the opportunity for detailed investigation present itself; the occasion came about in the year 1847, when, owing to the dangerous state of the fabric, the Sultan Abdul Mesjid called in an Italian architect named Fossati to advise regarding its reparation. Under his superintendence the building was put into a thorough state of repair, and it is probably owing to the care with which this was carried through that it remains at the present day structurally sound. During the time the building was in the hands of the workmen, a German architect, Salzenburg, taking advantage of the presence of extensive scaffolding, made very careful plans of the building, and drawings of the details of its decoration. These were published by the Prussian Government in the year 1854, and they form the principal records available for the purposes of study.*

* Fossati also published some drawings, and there exists, in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects in London, a number of plans by the French archaeologist Texier, made in the year 1834.

Although these drawings give us a very clear idea of the building and its details, there are still many points the why and the wherefore of which are wrapt in obscurity, and each fresh investigation helps to add to the sum of our knowledge on the whole subject.

Many descriptions of the church have been written from time to time, but the finest and most complete must always remain that embodied in the contemporary poem by Paul the Silentiary, which, as our authors suggest, was probably written in the church itself, and was, they think, recited during the ceremony of 24th December, 563, when the repairs and partial reconstruction, rendered necessary through the damage caused by an earthquake in the year 558, having been completed, the church was re-consecrated in the presence of the Emperor and his Court.

In the preface to their work our authors say :—

'Our first object has been to attempt some disentanglement of the history of the church and an analysis of its design and construction ; on the one hand, we have been led a step or two into the labyrinth of Constantinopolitan topography ; on the other, we have thought that the great church offers the best point of view for the observation of the Byzantine theory of building.'

They appear to have carefully gone over everything that has been written regarding the church, from the time of its erection by Justinian down to the present day, and we find brought together in the text, as an important part of the whole work, very careful translations of everything that can in any way help towards the elucidation of its history, or that is explanatory of its arrangement and construction. The methods of construction employed by the builders have also been minutely analysed, and are discussed in considerable detail, and many new theories are put forward, alike regarding the internal arrangements of the building, the disposition of the decorative scheme, and the practical development of the craftsmanship.

The arrangement of the city at the time of Constantine, as far as it relates to the site and surroundings of the Church, is discussed in detail in chapter I., and the form and disposition of the first church is also considered. When the Emperor selected Byzantium as the site of the new capital of the Empire

in the East, the old settlement established there in the seventh century B.C., by Greek colonists from Megara, had expanded into a considerable city adorned with coloured porticoes, stately buildings and sacred shrines. The new capital was enlarged and enriched by Constantine in the prevailing style of the period, and the buildings which he erected were largely based on the models of those he had left behind him in the old Rome. The topography of the city has been the subject of considerable speculation by numerous writers through many centuries and much of it is still wrapt in obscurity—many theories having been put forward only to be controverted and superseded. The Great Palace has been the special object of much discussion, and writers like Labarte, Paspates, and others, have devoted much time and ingenuity to the work of trying to unravel the intricacies of its plan and arrangement. These, however, need not detain us here. Mordtmann, a German doctor resident in Constantinople, has made the topography of the city his special study, and his spare time has been given over to careful research and investigation of the old sites. The results of his labours are embodied in a plan of the city published in 1872, on which many reliable identifications are set down. Our authors put forward a small plan of their own illustrating their views regarding the disposition of the Acropolis and its surroundings at the time of Constantine. We think the evidence which they adduce to show that the Augusteum and the Forum of Constantine were two separate and distinct places, bears out their contention that the former occupied the site to the south-west of the church, while the latter was a circular space round the porphyry column of Constantine —the burnt pillar—and that they were separated by the whole length of the *Mese*, which they identify with the Porticoes of Severus mentioned by Zosimus.

The balance of evidence seems to show that the first church dedicated to the Holy Wisdom was founded by Constantine, although it was not finished during his reign. It is very probable that it occupied the site of an old temple. On this point our authors make the following remarks:—

'There cannot be a doubt that the present S. Sophia occupies the site of the first church. A church once made holy by dedication and the re-

ception of relics could not be transported. Indeed it is possible that it may occupy the site of one of the Greek temples, for there was a constant tendency to this supersession on one sacred site ; and the present church stands on the very crest of the old Acropolis. If there were any sufficient reason to identify the site with that of the Altar of Pallas, the dedication of the church itself would evidently be one of the many instances of a transference of title from the old worship.'

They also point out that the lines of the ancient Hippodrome and probably of other pre-Christian structures were set out axially with it.

They are inclined to the view that the entrance of the first church was at the east end, as was usually the case in early churches up till the fifth century, and they also suggest that the structure was of basilican form. There is every reason to suppose that they are right in both these contentions. A very ingenious theory is put forward to account for the curious plan of the present church. It is suggested that the church was of small size and that its apse was situated at about the same position as that now occupied by the western hemicycle of the present church ; that after the Nika fire, when the church was about to be reconstructed—turning the apse towards the east as had become customary by that time—the lines of the old apse suggested the retention of the form at that end as well. The squareness of the plan is accounted for elsewhere as being the outcome of the practical exigencies of the site.

It is also suggested, with apparent show of reason, that the circular brick building lying close to the north-east angle of the present church was the original baptistery of the first church, and a reference to the Silentiary's account of the present church is given to show that it was used as such, even after the new church had been in existence for over twenty-five years. The building, therefore, which is now known as the Baptistery, and which lies to the south of the church, must either have been built for or diverted to that purpose at a later time.

During the two centuries which intervened between the reigns of Constantine and Justinian, the Roman methods of building underwent considerable change. The constant recurrence of serious fires in the new capital had destroyed a number of the buildings which had been erected by Constantine. As

these buildings were mostly constructed with beamed roofs and flat wooden ceilings they fell an easy prey to the flames. The first church of S. Sophia had been at least once seriously injured by fire before the Nika conflagration finally destroyed it.

Since the time of Constantine, artificers had been attracted to the city from all parts of the Empire, and these brought with them the knowledge of the methods in vogue in their particular provinces. The influence of Eastern forms of construction gradually became apparent in the more general use of the arch and the vault. It was a time of experiment and progress both in construction and in the arrangement and form of the decorative features. There was no fixed tradition, the old decadent art of the Romans grafted on to a Greek stock and, plentifully nourished by ideas gathered from all parts of the Empire, blossomed out into new life: the Greek intellect, ever eager after a new thing, absorbed all the Greek methods, and gradually evolved a type which it made peculiarly its own. Eventually the old stone lintel and beamed roof were entirely superseded by the arch and the vault, and the structures were crowned with domes rising above the vaults and dominating the whole composition. The form of the plans adapted themselves to the new construction, as did also the arrangements of the decorative scheme. By the time Justinian came to the throne the new methods and forms had established themselves, and the burning of the Church of S. Sophia during the Nika riots furnished the opportunity which was wanting for erecting a large building on the new lines, which should eclipse everything that had gone before. The Emperor took full advantage of the occasion which presented itself, to invite artificers and craftsmen of repute from the provinces to Constantinople—it is worthy of notice that the chief constructor, Anthemius, and his colleague, Isidorus, both came from Asia Minor—and neither skill nor money was wanting to make the new effort a success, new taxes being imposed to meet the gigantic expenditure.

Materials were brought from far and near, Egypt and Greece uniting with Asia Minor and the islands, each contiguous to the Capital, in supplying their quota of marble for the columns and walls. For nearly six years the works went on with

unabated energy, many difficulties were overcome, and many experiments were tried and found successful, and at length on 26th December, 537, the church was dedicated amidst the acclamations of the populace, and the Emperor exclaimed in the fullness of his pride, 'Glory be to God, who hath thought me worthy to accomplish so great a work. I have vanquished thee, O Solomon!'

The Emperor's joy in his church was, however, destined to receive a rude shock some twenty years later, when the apse and part of the dome were thrown down by an earthquake; but the same energy which was shown in the building of the church again asserted itself. The damage was repaired,—the dome being heightened 20 feet to give it additional security,—and the church was re-consecrated on the 24th of December, 563, five and a half years after the disaster.

The church of S. Sophia has never been surpassed in the unity and completeness of its design, and in the daring nature of its construction. In this building the arch and dome assert themselves and dominate everything, and we have a lightness, a spaciousness, and a grandeur that had never been reached in the finest of the basilicas, and has never been surpassed since. During all the centuries which have elapsed since its erection, it has maintained its supremacy as the masterpiece of Byzantine architecture and construction, and it fixed generally the type on which most of the later churches in the East were based, but it has never been surpassed by any of them.

Of the several descriptions of the church, that of Procopius, which is contained in his *History of the Edifices erected by Justinian*, for the reason that it makes no mention of the earthquake of 558, is supposed by our authors to have been written previous to that catastrophe. It is a rather florid general description, largely laudatory of the Emperor and much exaggerating his share in the work. Nothing very tangible is to be gleaned from it.

Three other contemporary descriptions are extant, viz., those of Paul the Silentiary, Agathias and Evagrius. Agathias mentions that, when the earthquake occurred, Anthemius was dead, but his colleague, Isidorus, carried out the repairs. He alludes

to an alteration which was made at the north and south main arches—this is discussed further on in the book—and he mentions that the curve of the dome was increased. Evagrius quotes a number of dimensions, but these our authors do not venture to discuss as they say that they appear to be so inaccurate. We find, however, on comparing them with the plan that at least two of them tally very nearly, while the others are capable of being explained.* We should say that the 200 feet quoted as the total length is a mistake for 300 feet.

The well known poem of Paul the Silentiary is a panegyric in praise of the beauty and richness of the building, couched in most beautiful language. It is at the same time a really detailed description of the church of a most minute nature and of great accuracy. Our authors have embodied in their book a very careful translation of the parts actually descriptive of the building and its furnishings. They devote a special chapter to the third part, which describes the magnificent ambo, the chief feature of the interior, and which was set up by Justinian during the repairs, the earlier one having been entirely destroyed by the falling in of the apse and part of the dome. They also give a plan of this, and in their general plan of the church, they have shown it in what they consider to have been its position in the interior of the structure. We do not doubt that their views as to the arrangement of this are, in the main, correct, since they are based on the very detailed description of the poet; and they have been guided in fixing its position immediately in front of the bema by the statements of an eighth century patriarch of Constantinople and of Simeon of Salonika, with regard to the position of ambones. We quote their descriptive summary :—

'The raised floor of the ambo was rounded on two sides, the other being open to the steps at the east and west. The breast wall on each side was largely covered with applied silver wrought into patterns; and the rest, together with the parapet slabs to the steps, were inlaid in ivory, probably carved like the contemporary bishop's throne at Ravenna. The body of the ambo, inlaid thus with ivory and silver, was upheld on eight columns, the underside of the floor stone being hollowed into a flat dome like the fluted soffite of the still older ambo at S. Apollinare at Ravenna. On

* See our remarks further on regarding the extent of the bema.

either side, around the ambo, was a semi-circle of large columns of rosy-veined Synnada marble, on white bases, with bronze annulets and gilt capitals ; between the columns breast-high slabs of Hierapolis marble inclosed a space. The circle of columns stood on a raised step, and above they were bound together by a carved beam, the pattern being gilt with the interspaces painted in ultramarine. On this to east and west stood silver crosses ; their upper limbs " bent like shepherds' crooks," doubtless formed the XP monogram. Silver candelabra, cones of diminishing circles, stood round about on the top of the beam. From the eastern steps a passage way ran back to the step of the iconostasis, inclosed on both sides by marble slabs grooved into posts, bearing a top rail. This closure of Verde-antique slabs was inlaid in white and red patterns and gold mosaic.'

This magnificent ambo, together with the beautiful iconostasis and the other rich fittings of the interior, appears to have been pillaged and destroyed or removed by the bands of western pirates who, under the name of Crusaders fighting for the Cross, pillaged and desecrated this most magnificent temple of Christendom. The treatment of the building by the Turkish conqueror, 250 years later, shows up in marked contrast to that of this band of marauders from the West.

A translation is given of two descriptions of the ceremonies associated with the ambo at coronations. These, although of later date, are interesting as describing the nature of such functions in the age of the Palæologi.

We notice that, in the translations from the various Byzantine authors which are given in the text, a transcription of the actual names of the various artificers and of the different parts of the building and its details, is given in brackets in Roman lettering. The idea is most praiseworthy, but we think it would have been an additional advantage to have had the actual names in their Greek characters.

In Chapter V. the arrangements of the interior of the church are discussed at considerable length. We are told that Du Cange, in his Commentary (1670) to the Silentiary's poem, was the first to make a serious attempt to elucidate the interior arrangements.

We are not at all disposed to accept as conclusively proved, as our authors seem to do, the suggestion made by several more recent writers that the extent of the bema was confined to the

eastern apse. We are rather inclined to favour the view of Du Cange that it embraced the whole eastern hemicycle, and that the screen followed the line of the great eastern arch. The position of the ambo under this arrangement would still have been in front of the screen, but further forward than shown on the plan, coming out under the great dome nearly to the centre. The Silentiary's description of its position would quite justify this theory. He says it stood 'in the central space of the wide temple, yet tending rather towards the East,' and the following description of the south aisle would also seem to confirm us in this theory: 'On the south you will see a long aisle as on the north, yet made bigger. For a part is separated off from the nave by a wall: there the Emperor takes his accustomed seat on the solemn festivals, and listens to the reading of the sacred books.' This may either mean that the Emperor's seat was in the nave or in the aisle, but in any case it places it opposite to the position which we have assigned to the ambo, whereas the ambo, as shown on the plan, is flanked by two of the great piers. He also classes together the apse and the exedras. 'Towards the east unfold triple spaces of semi-circular form; and above, on an upright band of wall, soars aloft the fourth part of a sphere;' and he proceeds as follows: 'The middle apse holds the stalls and steps ranged circle-wise,' but no allusion is made to the position of the ciborium having been close to them. He says of the apse that it 'is separated by a space between vertical walls:' We presume we are right in assuming that the words 'from the nave,' inserted in brackets after separated, have been put there by our translator. (We are unable at the moment of writing to refer to the original text).

Now, the position of the ciborium in the larger examples of the Basilican type of church, from which the plan of S. Sophia was a development, stood out well clear of the apse, which, as here, contained the seats for the priests, and the ambones were situated right down almost in the middle of the length of the nave, one on each side, as, for example, in S. Clemente and S. Lorenzo at Rome. Another point to be borne in mind is the total number of clergy attached to the church—in Justinian's time there were over 500—and the large amount of space that

would have been required for their accommodation. Of course a large proportion of these had no standing inside the bema, but even the priests alone would have uncomfortably crowded up the small apse, and, on the occasions of great ceremonials, additional clergy would have been gathered together from all parts. Our authors themselves instance that 'on one occasion the number of priests was so great that the Church of S. Sophia, though it is the greatest of all on the earth, seemed then too small.' The Russian Archbishop's account, written in 1200, says:—'In the sanctuary are eighty candelabra of silver for use on feast days . . . besides numberless silver candelabra with many golden apples.' These could hardly have been contained in the small apse; but perhaps sanctuary is intended to mean treasury.

We ought to bear in mind that in Justinian's time the iconostasis, as it was afterwards called, was not a rigidly closed screen but a range of pillars with spaces between, the lower parts of which were filled in with slabs, and the remainder of which was open; curtains were hung in these spaces in smaller churches, but here, where a large ciborium overshadowed and enclosed the altar, which stood clearly detached inside it, the curtain to conceal the sacred rites from the laity were hung round it. The Silentiary specially describes in great detail the curtains round the ciborium, but makes no mention of any on the screen. Hence any argument that might be brought forward about the Holy Table being overlooked from the galleries is of no moment.

Our authors themselves admit the narrowness of the space available for the screen when placed in their position in front of the small apse, and they very ingeniously get over it by assuming that the Silentiary's definition of the pillars as 'six sets of twain' entitles them to suggest that the pillars were coupled behind one another. We admit the reasonableness of this suggestion, but do not ourselves think that the wording is anything more than a mere piece of poetic licence. The twelve pillars, if spaced out regularly in one line across the wider space, would leave openings measuring less than eight feet between the pillars, not an extravagant width for each bay. The mass of decorative work on the screen would also have been better disposed on the greater width. We therefore contend that until further evidence is

forthcoming—for instance, an examination of the pavement might reveal much—there is no reason to assume that the extent of the bema was confined to the single apse.

The uppermost row of stalls round the apse was plated with silver, as were also the columns and arches of the ciborium; and the Holy Table was plated with gold and decked with enamel. Our authors are probably right in conjecturing that much of the rich decorative work of the sanctuary was taken to Venice after the sack of 1203, and that some of the enamels, which form part of the Pala d'oro in the Church of S. Mark, came from here. The columns of the screen were also cased with silver, and it was enriched with figures of winged angels in pairs and representations of the Apostles. These must have been placed above the columns, either on the beam or in a deep frieze—it is usual to find pictorial representations of the Apostles on the upper parts of later screens—and probably the angels supported the candelabra which adorned the top. The description of this screen recalls to mind the disposition of the one at S. Mark's in Venice and of that in the great Church at Torcello.

The Silentiary makes no special allusion to the Prothesis and Diakonikon as such, and, as there is considerable doubt whether these chapels became essential parts of the arrangement of a Byzantine Church till after Justinian's time, there may not have been special places set apart for them in this church. The openings through the walls at either side of the apse may have been used for the passage of the clergy from the vestries behind.

We doubt much if the chambers attached to the outside of the east wall were more than mere retiring rooms for the priests, and places for storing the vestments, etc.

The Treasury of the Relics might probably have been a pillared shrine or enclosure situated in the centre of the chamber at the east end of the north aisle, in which case the relics would have been protected by metal doors fitting in between its pillars. Here also would presumably have been kept the Sacred Cross. A writer of the 7th century is quoted as saying: 'In the northern part of the interior of the house (S. Sophia) is shown a very large and beautiful aumbry, where is kept a wooden chest in

which is shut up that wooden Cross of Salvation on which our Saviour hung for the salvation of the world.' The corresponding chamber on the south side may have been the Metatorion, in, or adjoining which, was the Holy Well. 'The princes go out of the right side of the Bema and enter the Metatorion.'

The square of rich Alexandrine work still existing in the pavement in the south-east quarter of the great square was probably the spot on which the Emperor's throne stood. The Russian Archbishop's description in 1200 says: 'On the right near the sanctuary is a piece of red marble, on which they place a golden throne; on this throne the Emperor is crowned. This place is surrounded by bronze closures to prevent people walking on it.'

Attention is drawn to the series of small crosses cut in the great verde antico columns of the nave. It was very usual for the Byzantine builders to make their principal stones, especially when they had been transferred from Pagan buildings, with crosses of consecration. On one small church in Athens, built out of materials from old temples, almost every stone is marked with a cross.

Our authors suggest that the two great water vessels, which stand in the exedras at the west end of the Church, and which are generally supposed to have been put there by Sultan Murad III., are Byzantine, and they illustrate examples of others of a similar type, and of undoubted Byzantine origin. We think that they prove their contention.

Reference is made to the lavish use of hangings by the Byzantines for their doors and openings, and the nature of these is discussed, examples being quoted from illustrations on mosaics. It is pointed out that the doors entering the narthex and those between it and the church have all got bronze hooks for suspending these from, and attention is drawn to the fact that Turkish hangings are in use on them at the present day. It is suggested that veils were frequently hung on both the upper and lower arcades of the church, having been suspended from the iron bars which cross the arches at their springing, in the manner indicated in the mosaic on Theodoric's palace. It is very probable that this was the case, at any rate in the upper tier. In fact an

instance is quoted from the account of a traveller in the 14th century, who says that 'the women in the galleries remained behind curtains of silk so that none might see their faces.'

Chapter VI. is devoted to a description and discussion of the relics, treasure and lighting of the church. The most precious relic of the church was the portion of the true Cross sent from Jerusalem by Helena. It is supposed to have consisted of three pieces arranged as a long stem with a double traverse, and this is suggested as having been the origin of the form of the cross so often found represented in Byzantine iconography.

The exhaustive description of the relics given by the Archbishop of Novgorod, who visited the church three years before its sack by the Franks, is quoted at length and shows the quantity and richness of the treasure which was dispersed in 1203. His allusion to the practice of hanging the crowns of the Emperors round the altar is most interesting. 'Above the great altar in the middle is hung the crown of the Emperor Constantine, set with precious stones and pearls. Below it is a golden cross, which overhangs a golden dove. The crowns of the other Emperors are hung round the ciborium, which is entirely made of silver and gold. From the same ciborium hang thirty smaller crowns, as a remembrance to Christians of the pieces of money of Judas.' He goes on to say:—'Behind the altar of the larger sanctuary is a gold cross, higher than two men, set with precious stones and pearls. There hangs before it another gold cross a cubit and a half long, with three gold lamps, which hang from as many gold arms (the fourth is now lost). These lamps, the arms or branches, and the cross, were made by the Emperor Justinian who built S. Sophia.'

The arrangement of the lighting of the church is discussed in considerable detail. The Silentiary gives a beautiful account of the various methods employed, and his description is, as our authors say, one of the most fascinating parts of the whole poem. A great circle was suspended with chains in the central space under the dome, from this hung flat circular discs of silver pierced with holes into which were inserted small glass lamps, these discs alternated with metal crosses also holding lamps, inside their outer rim was a large corona of other lamps and

above it a large central disc. We find similar coronas to-day in some of the churches at Mount Athos, and many of us are familiar with the examples in the Rhenish churches, which were no doubt based on Byzantine models. Along the sides of the church and in the aisles and galleries were rows of lamps in the form of silver bowls, ships, etc.

On the top of the iconostasis was a row of candelabra having circles of light diminishing upwards round the stem, and in the centre was a huge cross studded with lights. Similar candelabra encircled the ambo. In the sanctuary were suspended single lamps which burned continually. Illustrations are given of various types of pierced lamp discs of the Byzantine era, and of types of standard candle-sticks. We find these latter in general use in the East to-day, almost identical in form with those made in the sixth century, and the grouping of small lamps in lines or circles or hung singly is still the usual method of lighting employed in the churches at the present time.

Chapter VII. goes into the later History and Legends. Allusion is made to the addition of a belfry at the west end about the year 865. This was built to hold the bells sent by the Doge of Venice to the Emperor Michael. The Greeks did not use bells but wood or metal plates hung on chains or cords and struck like a gong. Reference is made also to repairs undertaken at various times and especially at the end of the tenth century, when an earthquake caused the 'hemisphere with the western arch to fall.'

Under the later Byzantine Emperors the church never recovered its former splendour. They, however, kept it in repair and gradually got together a fresh collection of treasures, and they restored the ciborium, the iconostasis and the ambo, but not in such magnificent form as before. In 1346 another earthquake threw down about one third of the roof. This was speedily rebuilt.

After the Turkish conquest the church was again divested of much of its treasure, but otherwise did not suffer great harm. The outside appearance was however much changed by the addition of minarets and by the alteration of its surroundings.

Our authors translate and examine the description of the

church by the writer known as 'The Anonymous of Combefis.' This they assign to the twelfth century. Of it they say: 'We believe him to be entirely unreliable where he speaks of the former state of the church. He simply gathers the legends which had grown up, because facts were forgotten, and enumerates the relics.' They also gather together the remarks set down by various travellers, and the numerous legends which had clustered round the church and were quoted from time to time.

Chapter VIII. refers to the repairs executed in 1847, but it is mainly occupied by a paraphrase of the description of the church given in Salzenburg's great work. We question whether it was worth while after all to reproduce this here as it is very difficult to follow, even by those acquainted with the technicalities, and it is hopeless to make anything out of it without having the illustrations of the work at hand to refer to. Salzenburg's book stands by itself, plates and text, and we can only think that our authors have included the translation of his text in their work so as to complete their series of English renderings of the various authors who have written about the building.

In Chapter IX. the ancient precincts and external parts of the church are discussed. Reference is made to the Great Palace, the Hippodrome, the Augusteum, the Milion, etc., and their arrangement and form in Justinian's time is touched upon. It might have been better had this discussion followed on in Chapter I., after that of the earlier topography, but our authors have doubtless put it here as leading up to their description of the approaches and outlying parts of the church.

Immediately to the west of the church was the atrium or cloister. This was oblong and considerable portions of it were in existence as late as 1873. Now only the west side remains—the present exonarthex. It had been suggested by Fossati and others that the four great buttress piers rising above this side and from which arches stretched across the farther wall, had carried the four bronze horses now in front of the church of S. Mark at Venice. Our authors scout this idea and point out that the horses are much too small for the position; besides, they bring forward evidence to show that at one time there were ten buttresses along this wall. It is also pointed out that some parts of

the exterior must have been lined with marble, and it is mentioned that some of the marble plating was seen by Salzenburg.

It is suggested that the Court of the Atrium was paved with marble, and in the centre stood the fountain; four streams were figured in marble as flowing away from the centre, one towards each side—symbolical of the four rivers of paradise—and these gave their names to the four walks of the cloister. The probable nature and form of the fountain is discussed in some detail, but on this we need not enter. The main approach to the church was from the south side, where stood the Augusteum and the Palace. On this side also stood the great pillar erected by Justinian and bearing a statue of the Emperor on horseback. The arrangement and position of the courts and buildings immediately to the south of the church and adjoining it, are so problematical that we need hardly discuss them here.

The remaining three chapters of the book are given up to the technical side of the subject, the discussion of the structural methods, their origins, development and application in the building, the nature and use of the material and the form and arrangement of the decorative detail.

Our authors have a good deal to say on the question of the growth of the Byzantine architecture. We quote the following:—

'Byzantine architecture was developed by the use of brick in the frankest and fullest manner, especially in domical vaulting. Wide spans were kept in equipoise by other smaller domes. The more concentrated supports were marble monoliths, and the wall and vault surfaces were covered by incrustations of marble slabs and glass mosaic. Directness, and an economy of labour relative to the results obtained, is perhaps the most essential characteristic of the art both in construction and decoration in the great period.'

The building up of the dome from the square plan through pendentives was one of the finest of the Byzantine developments, and they follow this up through early examples to its complete perfection as seen in S. Sophia. They dwell on Choisy's enquiry into the methods of workmanship and how he points out the difference between the Roman and the Byzantine systems; that under the Romans the workman was compulsorily enrolled in associations under State control, while with the Byzantine Greeks

he had more individuality, and was recognised more as an intelligent power, and had his own independent trade guilds. 'These associations had a council composed exclusively of those who, by apprenticeship and trial, had earned the title of masters.'

The original form of the church and the details of the alterations made, under Justinian, after the earthquake, are gone into, and our authors bring forward a new theory regarding certain alterations to the filling in of the great north and south arches. They point out that these great arches of 72 feet span are as wide as the great piers, viz., 15 feet 8 inches, but that 'the semicircles of wall, each of which contains twelve windows, are now filled in beneath these arches, flush with their *inner faces*, and the arches therefore do not show to the interior through the decoration'; and they go on to say:—

'Now Agathias says that at the restoration, after the earthquake in 558, at the north and south arches they brought towards the inside "the portion of the building which was on the curve." This, we think, must refer to the filling wall in the arches of 72 feet span, which we suppose was formerly on the exterior, and thus left an upper gallery 12 feet wide and 72 feet long open to the interior. "And they made the arches wider to be in harmony with the others, thus making the equilateral symmetry more perfect. They thus reduced the vast space and formed an oblique design." That is, the arches of 72 feet, when filled up on the inside, were no longer visible, and the dome appeared to stand over arches of 100 feet span on north and south, as already on east and west, the transverse dimension of the church being lessened between these points by some 24 feet.'

They give plans and sections to prove their case, and argue it out with great clearness, pointing out, for instance, that throughout the building, in every other place but this one, the curtain walls are flush with the exterior. They bring forward S. Sophia, Salonika, as an example in their favour, for there the soffits of the arches show in the interior. Choisy, who thought that this building was erected after the Constantinople church, says that here the error was remedied; but our authors quote a recent reading of the inscription on the mosaic there, which shows that the church was erected in 495. We think that the evidence brought forward and the arguments adduced show clearly that this alteration was made as our authors suggest, and that it was

not an improvement on the original design. Their theory as to the reason for the change is also a very probable one, viz., that some weakness in the supports of the inner order in the aisles made it essential that, as far as possible, the weight should be transferred forward to the main pillars and arches.

The general structural system is carefully examined, how the dome and semi-domes are sustained, and how the thrusts are resisted or distributed. The forms of the arches are noted and considered, and the methods of the vaulting are discussed and compared with Choisy's explanations. They differ from him on essential points in connection with the setting out of the vaults, and we think that they are right in their contentions, but the points are so very technical that we cannot go into them here. They, however, agree with Choisy in his statement that the chief consideration of the Byzantine builders in the construction of their vaults was to avoid wooden centering, but here again they suggest a simpler method of arriving at the line of the construction than that put forward by him.

The methods of dome construction are also entered into, and a description is given of the system in use in the East, whereby domes are built without any centering, like the vaults. The question of how far any centering was used for the great dome is also touched on, and it is suggested that it was dispensed with to a great extent, but that for closing in the opening at the top a light centering, resting on the part already built, was used.

With the exception of the marble monoliths with their capitals and bases, the structure of S. Sophia was a huge brick carcase or shell into which were inserted, after the building had had time to settle down, the marble jambs and lintels of the doors and windows, and to which were applied the thin marble linings of the walls and the mosaic work of the domes and vaults.

Our authors endeavour to identify each variety of marble used in the building and to fix its provenance. They are inclined to the opinion that the great monolith shafts of Egyptian porphyry and green Thessalian marble, used for the main pillars, were specially quarried for this work, and not brought from older buildings, as some writers have asserted. The quarries of Marmora, which are still worked, supplied the bulk

of the white marble for the capitals, bases, floors, etc., and for much of the wall lining, while the richer varieties formed panels and bands. They point out that :—

'All the wall-plating is arranged with delightful variety as to size, and in the alternate placing of light against dark, so that there is no rigidity or over-accurate "setting out."'

Further on they say :—

'In regard to the wall-plating, we wish specially to point out the extremely easy way in which it is applied, without thought of disguise. The slabs, of great size, are placed vertically, entirely the reverse of solid construction ; moreover, the slabs of the finer panels are opened out side by side, so that the veinings appear in symmetrical patterns. At the angles the lap shows in the most open way ; while it is mitred where restored.'

A most interesting dissertation is given on the development of Byzantine marble masonry, and the evolution of the new form of capital :—

'Having the Corinthian and Ionic capitals before their eyes, and without forgetting or rejecting them, the Byzantine builders invented and developed an entirely fresh set of capitals, fitted in the most perfect way for arched brick construction.'

In the shaping of the capital the round of the column was gradually merged into the square of the impost of the arch, and the carving enriches the surface only, while preserving the form. These forms are divided by our authors into four main types, which they discuss in detail. They are of opinion that Constantinople was the great centre for the manufacture of sculptured marble masonry for the whole Roman world, and that from there carved capitals, slabs, etc., were exported far and wide. They think that all the fine work at Ravenna and other places was sent direct from the Capital ready to be fixed in position. They base their contention mainly on the fact that identical forms are to be found in places so widely apart. They believe that it can be proved that the marble used is mainly Proconnesian. Even if this were so it does not necessarily follow that more than the rough blocks were exported. We should like still to be allowed to think that, while Constantinople was the great centre from which trained craftsmen were sent abroad far and wide, the sculptures of the buildings themselves were to a large extent

executed on the spot by the craftsmen who worked on the construction of the buildings; that, as Choisy says in the passage quoted by our authors in another place:—'In Byzantine buildings, the same name occurs in turn upon columns, capitals, or simply squared blocks of stone, and there is nothing to show that the foreman of the works kept one man at one particular kind of work.'

The large use made of bronze both in construction and decoration is remarked on,—the bronze bands round the pillars, the casings to the doorways, and the linings of the doors themselves. Drawings and descriptions are given of the decorative treatment of these bronze doors. The outer doors of the south porch are specially discussed, and a corrected version is given of the inscriptions on the panels, which had been incorrectly quoted by Salzenburg. The arrangement of this inscription in the form of monograms is very ingenious, and it is interesting to note that these were deeply engraved into the metal plates and filled in with silver.

The form and manner of the mosaic work is described, and the economical way in which the material was used is commented on, an observation of Boni's being quoted to show how, in the domes, the maximum of effect was gained with the minimum of material. The decorative arrangement and the iconographic scheme is discussed; space, however, does not permit of our entering into this subject. It is concluded, we think with reason, that none of the figure work belongs to the period previous to the iconoclastic controversy. The Silentiary does not describe it, and he certainly would have done so had it existed. We quote the following:—

'We believe the original scheme of decoration is best accounted for without figures, and even if this were not so, we can hardly believe that in the Patriarchal Church, at the door of the Palace, figures would have lasted through the reigns of the iconoclastic emperors and patriarchs, as they may well have done in remoter churches where the clergy were on the other side.'

A section is devoted to the elucidation of the ciphers or monograms which are carved on the bosses of the capitals. It is shown very clearly that the bulk of these represent, in pairs, the words 'ΙΟΥCΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΥ, ΒΑCΙΛΕωC,' and 'ΘΕΟΔωΡΑC, ΑΥΓΟΥΤΑC.'

The work concludes with a reference to a slab in the paving of the south gallery, which bears the name of the blind Doge of Venice, 'HENRICUS DANDOLO.'

Although we have gone carefully through the whole book in considerable detail, we have been unable to touch on great portions of the wealth of most interesting and valuable information which has been brought together in such a comprehensive form at the expense of so much labour and research. The collecting and transcribing into English of all that has been written regarding the great Church will alone make the work of extreme value as a book of reference for students; while the part devoted to the structural methods, and the theories brought forward regarding them, having been written by practical architects well qualified to deal with the intricacies of a great building, will always command the attention of those interested in the subject.

We could have wished, perhaps, that the translations of the ancient writers had been more complete—although the essential parts in each case have been given to us—and that each had been kept entirely separate and distinct, with a commentary on the whole following after with the description and discussion of the Church; but our authors have thought otherwise, and we must respect their judgment.

We must, however, draw attention to the want of a proper list of the works referred to in the text. This would have enhanced the usefulness of the book, and would also have done away with the necessity for many of the footnote references. Another omission is that of a list and index of the cuts in the text, of which not even references to the pages at which they are to be found scattered throughout the book are given when they are alluded to from time to time. A few more drawings of various parts of the building might also have helped to make many of the descriptions appear clearer. These, however, are points that could be amended in a second edition.

We cannot conclude without expressing our sense of the loss which architectural archæology has sustained through the death, in Egypt, of Mr. Swainson, shortly after the publication of this book, while he was on a mission of further investigation on similar lines. A capable scholar as well as a trained architect, he

combined in himself the two principal qualifications necessary for an enlightened study of the monuments of the past, and the good work he had already done gave promise of much future work of extreme interest and excellence.

ROBT. WEIR SCHULTZ.

ART. VIII.—THREE YEARS UNDER THE NEW ORDINANCES: A GRADUATION ADDRESS.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,—It is now my pleasant duty in the name of the Faculty and the Senatus to congratulate those on whose studies and attainments the University has to-day formally set its seal by the honours of graduation. As representatives, for the time being, of the University we here to-day welcome you heartily on your admission as members of the great company of graduates who have carried its name and fame into all parts of the world. Henceforward you are members with them and with us of the same body; the reputation of your *Alma Mater* is placed in your hands, and we look to you confidently to justify by your future career the honour this day bestowed upon you. We expect you to maintain the reputation of the University unsmirched; and many of you, we doubt not, will in the years to come add fresh lustre to her name.

This being the first occasion on which it has fallen to me to deliver this address, I have, not unnaturally, made a slight examination of precedents with a view to discover what is expected of me in the circumstances.

The first great duty, I may say, which has been enforced upon me by all who expected to have to listen was to be *short;* and as I have much sympathy with this state of mind, I shall hope not to trespass unduly upon your patience. The appropriate subject of remark proved a more intricate problem. For the last twenty years, or thereby, the University system of Scotland has been under repairs. There has either been a

Commission reporting upon its needs and inadequacies, or there has been a Bill in prospect, or there has been a Bill just passed, or, latterly, there has been a Commission sitting which has been proposing and carrying into effect far-reaching changes in the constitution of the Universities and the arrangement of their educational curriculum. In these circumstances the officiating professor usually found a thesis ready to his hand in the questions of academic policy which were being agitated at that particular epoch. The address thus became a convenient, and often a useful, opportunity of criticising before a wider public proposed reforms or impending legislation. It also gave the Professor an opportunity of delivering his soul with more or less fulness on the claims and the grievances of his particular department, and the iniquities about to be perpetrated or already perpetrated in its regard. This last seductive line of remark I do not intend to follow; for though I do not wish to be understood as making the humiliating and un-English confession that I am without a grievance, there is really nothing of such importance or urgency as to justify its obtrusion upon you as the main subject of these remarks.

Turning therefore to more general topics, let us first glance for a moment at the academic history of the year that has elapsed since the Arts graduation in April last. It seems not inappropriate on these the only regular occasions on which the University voices itself officially to the outer world to offer a brief chronicle of any events of interest that have marked the passing year. What then are the academic memorabilia of the last twelve months? What have they brought us and what have they taken away? First, as is most fitting, let us pay our tribute to those who have left us since we last met. Last summer by a tragic accident we lost Professor Dobie, snatched from us in the vigour of early manhood, almost before he had had time to take permanent root among us, but not before he had won the respect and friendship of his colleagues and students by his manly and unaffected character, and given earnest of a most successful career by his combination of sound scholarship with organizing power and a sober and well-

directed enthusiasm. We mourned sincerely his premature and unlooked-for loss. It is not many weeks since, in other circumstances, we were called upon to pay the last tribute of honour and affection to John Stuart Blackie. A Professor in this University for thirty years, and then for thirteen years Emeritus, he had been seen at most of our academic gatherings up till the beginning of the present session, his picturesque presence imparting a touch of colour to what an uncomplimentary print is pleased to term 'the monotonous grey respectability of the Scottish Professoriate.' When he passed from us at the extreme verge of human life, his death was followed by a spontaneous outburst of public feeling which was a striking testimony to the place he had made for himself in the heart of his countrymen. His eulogy was spoken at the time by fitting lips. To what was then said and written in many quarters in warm yet discriminative appreciation of his gifts and nature it would be superfluous to add anything here. But it is a satisfaction to us to know that his bright and happy memory will remain part of the history of this University.

But the annals of the past year are, happily, not exhausted in these records of loss. We have added new and distinguished members to the teaching body, and we have added new subjects to the University curriculum. The vacant Chair of Hebrew has been filled by Professor Kennedy, who comes to us with a distinguished record from the same Chair in the University of Aberdeen; and we have called Professor Prothero from a brilliant career at Cambridge to the newly instituted Chair of History, that the experience gained by years of successful teaching in the South may be available in organising the department which is now for the first time fully recognised as part of the Arts teaching both for pass and honours. It may be of public interest to mention that a most successful and encouraging beginning has been made. There were during the past Session 28 students attending Professor Prothero's ordinary class, while the Honours courses conducted by him and Professor Kirkpatrick were attended by 9 and 6 students respectively; at the recent graduation examination 13 candidates presented themselves in History. Lecturers of

distinction were also appointed last summer to inaugurate the University study of French and German, and in these subjects also the results of the first session have been such as to show that the classes supply an important want, and are certain to form an important adjunct to the previously existing teaching in arts. They have been most largely taken advantage of by women students, a result which was to be expected at first, women being more highly prepared in these subjects by their school training than the majority of the male students. But it may be hoped that, as time goes on, more and more of the men will supplement their culture by attending these classes, whether they take them for graduate purposes or not—a knowledge of these two languages being at the present day a necessary part of the equipment of the scholar, the man of science, the philosopher, and the theologian, not to mention the 'world of profit and delight' which their literatures open up to 'the studious artizan.' For the present the beginning made may be regarded as entirely satisfactory; 27 students attended the French class, and 29 attended German, one of these being an Honours student, while 18 candidates appeared in German and 17 in French at the recent Degree Examinations.

The mention of these numbers may probably suggest to some the question whether the statistics of class attendance and graduation furnish as yet any indication of tendencies at work among students in shaping their courses under the new Regulations. The new Regulations have now been in force for three sessions; but at first the majority of the students, having begun their course before October, 1892, did not come under their operation. It is only, I think, in the present session that a distinct majority of the Arts students have been working under the new conditions, but this is also the last occasion on which any considerable body of students will graduate under the old ordinances. You who have passed before the Vice-Chancellor to-day—though there are many new ordinance graduates among you—represent practically the end of the old order; only a small and diminishing band of stragglers will remain. These considerations show that it

is still premature to expect any very definite results from the figures of these three transition years, and it would be an offence against scientific prudence to base any far-reaching inductions upon them. Still, taken for what they are worth, the figures naturally excite a certain interest. The first point on which one naturally looks for information is as to the effect of the options in the three old departments of Classics, Mathematics, and Philosophy—the options, I mean, between Latin and Greek, between Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and between Logic and Moral Philosophy. The only point here which the figures place beyond doubt is one which was foreseen by everybody—the immediate fall in the numbers of those taking Greek. In April, 1892, the last graduation completely under the old system, there were 137 candidates in Classical Literature, *i.e.*, in Latin and Greek taken together. (The total number of students and graduates, I should remark parenthetically, has been undergoing a shrinkage, and this has to be kept in mind in connection with the following figures). In April, 1893, there were in Latin 125, and in Greek 111, the majority being still under the old ordinances; in April, 1894, there was in Latin 112, and in Greek 80; and this April there were 94 in Latin, and only 57 in Greek. That is to say, while the decrease in the numbers in Latin represents only the shrinkage that has taken place of late years in the total number of students and graduates, the actual fall being 43, Greek has fallen 80 in the same period; those who graduate in Greek are now only about $\frac{3}{5}$ths of those who graduate in Latin. A comparison of the class numbers shows a similar result. Formerly the Greek and Latin classes were identical with the exception of one or two stragglers. This session, Greek stood to Latin as 71 to 127, somewhat under $\frac{3}{5}$ths. It may probably be assumed that the inevitable causes leading to this downfall in Greek have now had time to come fully into operation, so that a further diminution of numbers is not to be expected. It is certainly to be deprecated in the interests of the higher learning in Scotland. When we turn to the case of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, we find that while Mathematics has sunk from 110 in

1892 to 100 in 1895, Natural Philosophy has risen from 110 to 125 in the same years, *i.e.*, Mathematics is 25 behind, or to put it differently, the numbers in Mathematics are exactly $\frac{4}{5}$ths of the numbers in Natural Philosophy on the present occasion. The inequality is here by no means so great, and while Natural Philosophy, as was anticipated, has the advantage, some students evidently availing themselves of the option to escape from Mathematics, this is by no means so largely the case as prophecy would at one time have had us believe. Comparison between the classes is not instructive in this case, at least to an outsider, as Natural Philosophy always largely outnumbered the senior class of Mathematics. In the case of the third option, that between Logic and Moral Philosophy, the graduation figures for the successive years would convey a distinctly misleading impression, owing to the unequal incidence of new graduation candidates in the two cases, in consequence of the relative position of the classes in the ordinary curriculum. This tended unduly to swell the numbers in Logic in 1893 and 1894, and it will not really be till next year that the normal relation between the two, as it is determined by the tendencies at present in operation, will be fairly inferrible from the figures. But the figures, such as they are, show that whereas in 1892 there were 112 candidates in the old philosophical department, 125 candidates presented themselves this April in Logic as against 84 in Moral Philosophy, and if the three years, 1893, 1894, and 1895, be taken, there are, on the average, 39 fewer candidates in Moral Philosophy than in Logic. If the test of class attendance be taken, it has to be remembered that under the old conditions, from a variety of causes, the Logic class was almost always slightly more numerous than the class of Moral Philosophy. In the three years preceding April, 1892, the average difference was 14. In the three years, however, since April, 1892, the average difference has risen to 41. The justice of this average is probably disturbed, however, by the fact that 1892-93 would in any circumstances have given a small class in Moral Philosophy, owing to the small entry of first year students some time before. But in any case we are driven to the conclusion

that a certain number of students are taking advantage of the option to drop one of their philosophical classes; and for the present the loss appears to fall chiefly upon Moral Philosophy. Other things being equal, this is the natural result of the position of Moral Philosophy, as coming later in the ordinary curriculum and presupposing to some extent the foundation laid in a class of Logic and Psychology. The number of those who have withdrawn themselves from the advantage of a second philosophical class is, however, not alarming as yet, and probably consists almost entirely of those who feel themselves incapable of benefitting by the discipline which philosophy offers. And in this respect it can only be healthy for both parties that such students should seek 'fresh woods and pastures new.'

There is a fourth option established by the new regulations. Instead of English, hitherto a compulsory subject, the student may take either History or a Modern Language. But the operation of this option does not admit of being tested by figures, for History, as a qualifying class, and French and German are all new subjects; and it is impossible to say whether the 84 students which they collectively muster this session have taken the new subject in lieu of English or in lieu of some other class in the old curriculum. The probability is that only in a very few cases has the English class been omitted. The graduation candidates this year in English numbered 125, the same number as in Natural Philosophy and Logic, and considerably in advance of all the other subjects, while if we compare the class attendance in English during the three years preceding and the three years following April, 1892, the average number during the earlier period was 172, the average number during the latter period 183. English Literature would appear therefore to be fully holding its own, as indeed one would naturally expect. It is also of interest to note that this year, for the first time, a student has graduated with Honours in English, the first fruits of the new Honours school.

When we turn to the subjects which have been given a place for the first time in Arts curriculum, we find that in

addition to History, French, and German already alluded to, Education, Political Economy, and Chemistry are the only subjects which show any tendency, so far, to take an important place as graduating subjects. In French and German we have only the results of the present year to judge by. The number of candidates, as we saw, was—in German, 18; in French, 17. History, which has been taught as an Arts subject by Professor Kirkpatrick since 1892, had 2 graduates in '93, 13 in '94, and 13 in the present session. But these figures are exceeded in the case of Education and Chemistry. Education at once leapt into an important position as a graduating subject. In 1893, the first occasion possible, there were 22 candidates in Education, in '94 there were 36, and this year 21, making an average of 26; while the class attendance, which averaged 40 in the three years preceding April, '92, has averaged 55 in the last three years. As the class is taken by the best of those who are training professionally as teachers, it was to be expected that they would utilise it at the same time for purposes of graduation. Chemistry, beginning with 3 candidates in '93, advanced to 13 in '94, and to 20 in the present year. Chemistry is thus distinctly the favourite among the scientific subjects, and the others account as yet only for a few stragglers. Zoology has had 6 candidates during the three years, Botany 5, Geology 4, and Astronomy 1. But one of the most interesting features of the figures is the steady way in which Political Economy continues to increase its numbers. Beginning with 2 candidates in '93, it had 9 candidates in '94, and this year the number has risen to 22; and during the same period the class has risen, from 24 in session '92-3, to 30 in session 93-4, and 42 in the session just closed.

Of the other subjects recognised under the new regulations only three have given any signs of life. Fine Art and Archæology has had 8 candidates in the three years, Sanskrit has had 2, Roman Law 2. Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Celtic, Philosophy of Law and Public Law have been as yet quite unrepresented at these examinations,

Summing up the matter in another way, if we take the

number of entries for single subjects this April, we find that of the total 838, not fewer than 710, or an average of rather more than a hundred a-piece, belonged to the old seven subjects; while of the remaining 128, distributed among the new subjects, 111 were divided among the six subjects of Education, Political Economy, Chemistry, German, French, and History (the numbers being Education, 23; Political Economy, 22; Chemistry, 20; German, 18; French, 17; and History, 12); while the remaining 17 entries are scattered over as many as 5 competing subjects.

I have taken the trouble to compile these statistics in the belief that they may interest some here, and possibly some also among the wider public. But as I warned you at the outset, the years in question have been largely of a transitional character, and the basis of induction is therefore small. Statistics, they say, can be made to prove anything. Accordingly I leave everybody to draw his own conclusions from them. I will only say that, so far as it has gone, the academic struggle for existence does not seem to me to have exceeded the limits of healthful competition; the limited power of selection entrusted to the students has been in no way abused. Even in the case of Greek, I do not think that while we have 70, or anything like 70, students freely selecting the subject, there is any reason to despair of the republic of letters. And as a representative of philosophy I think I may add that the philosophical professors, in spite of the slight declension to which I have alluded, see no reason as yet to believe that any irreparable injury has been done to their subject. The average quality of the work done by the class as a whole is undoubtedly higher under the new arrangements than under the old; and the elimination of a certain number of unwilling and therefore uninterested students is a clear gain in many ways. Considering how intimately the reputation of the Scottish universities in the past has been associated with the character and influence of their philosophical teaching, it would indeed be matter for profound regret if this typical growth of national culture were to flourish less vigorously in the future. But we believe in

the inborn metaphysical tendency of the Scottish mind; and having regard also to the vital and perennial importance of the inquiries grouped under the general name of philosophy—inquiries which were never more in the foreground of public interest than at present—we look without discouragement to the academic future of the subjects committed to our charge.

In the matter of Honour Students, however, philosophy has perhaps more reason to regard the recent legislation with misgiving. And here I crave your permission to ventilate for a moment or two the grievance at whose existence I hinted before. That legislation, we were told, was intended to encourage and develop honours teaching by the greater freedom it conferred upon those who chose an Honours course. The honours man is subject to fewer restrictions in the choice of subjects, and is thus able from the outset of his course to specialise to a greater extent in his chosen department. In general, therefore, the better students have certainly an inducement to study for honours. But unfortunately this encouragement does not act in the case of philosophy, because a student cannot very well resolve to specialise in a subject which he knows nothing about. And as the philosophical subjects are not, and ought not to be, taught in schools—ought not indeed to be taken by the student till he has advanced some distance in his university course—the natural result is that, if the student shapes an honours course for himself soon after entering college, he selects one of the subjects with which his school training has given him some familiarity, and in which perhaps he has achieved some distinction. He commits himself thus, let us say, to a classical or mathematical course, according to his predilections; or perhaps, if neither of these subjects has attracted him, he may venture, with a vaguer knowledge of what they imply, upon an honours course in English, in History, or in Modern Languages. But philosophy is to him what the interior of the African continent used to be to the map-maker, and it may be taken for granted that in planning his university journey he will not think of venturing upon its trackless wilds. In recruiting for honours students, philosophy is thus plainly placed at a disadvantage

as compared with other departments. This was not the case under the old arrangements, because honours study formerly carried with it no exemptions or privileges. It was superimposed, as it were, upon the common foundation of the pass curriculum, and men did not usually decide to go in for honours till the second or third year of their course, by which time they had in all probability had some opportunity of tasting the sweets of philosophical discipline, or at least their minds had sufficiently ripened to enable them to appreciate the subjects with which it deals. The disadvantage in the new system arises from the choice prematurely thrust upon the student; he is not of course compelled to choose, and if he has no decided preferences, he may elect to follow one of the many paths to the ordinary degree, but the temptation certainly is for the student of more than average ability to commit himself at an early stage to some one of the avenues to an honours degree. Now, in the case of decided natural gift and inclination there is nothing to be said against the early choice. The heaven-born classic and the heaven-born mathematician would in any case have found their elective affinities; and it is well that obstacles should be removed from their path, and that in this way the standard of scholarship in these subjects should be raised in our universities as high as possible. But we all know that nature does not make many men and women in that mould, and in many cases the selection will be made not because of any such overpowering and unanswerable reasons, but because, in view of the advantages offered to honours students, it seems desirable that *some* selection should be made. It may often happen in such cases that the student commits himself to a definite curriculum before he has discovered his true affinities, more particularly while he is still ignorant of the philosophical potentialities which may slumber unsuspected in his breast. From this point of view it seems to me there is unquestionably a danger which may diminish the supply of students devoting themselves to more advanced work in Philosophy. The philosophical Professors will watch with some anxiety, therefore, the operation of the new regulations, in this respect, for the

next few years. And to advert only for a moment to a minor point, they will have to observe narrowly whether the Honours degree is not unduly hampered by the requirement of Greek from all candidates. A knowledge of Greek may well seem almost essential, when one reflects upon the place occupied by Plato and Aristotle in the history of thought. But should the number of those studying Greek at the Universities come to be only a small proportion of the total number proceeding to the Arts degree, it is evident that the area of selection for philosophical honours is proportionately restricted; and it may conceivably become a question whether an equitable alternative might not be found for those approaching Philosophy with other aptitudes and another training,—say an alternative of a scientific nature, such as an adequate knowledge of Physiology, which would be as useful in certain departments of philosophical enquiry as a knowledge of Greek in others. This, however, is a point which further experience must determine. But, it is not, I may say, a merely abstract or theoretical possibility: students contemplating Honours, to whom the present regulations operated as a bar, have already spoken to me on the subject.

And now let me turn to my more immediate audience, the graduates of the year. To us, upon the platform, and to the public, reading of it in the newspapers, this is a recurring function apt, perhaps, to be staled by repetition, as the annual revolution of the educational machine brings it round with unfailing regularity. But to you and to your friends gathered around you, it is an occasion which comes once and not again, an occasion to which you have looked forward, and to which, in after life, you will look back. I do not forget a day like this, seventeen years ago, on which I passed before Chancellor Inglis to receive my degree, and afterwards listened, sitting in your place, to the address of Professor Campbell Fraser, whose friend and successor it has since been my good fortune to become. So each of us has his individual memories. You stand to-day, if not all at the close of your University career, yet at the close of that training in general culture which the University has to offer as a preparation for life. Henceforth

you will either be engaged in the active business of the world, or you will turn to the more technical studies which the profession you have chosen demands. In either case, you are leaving the quiet waters in which you have spent these years of preparation, and are pushing into more troubled currents. The day on which a man enters college, and the day on which he leaves it, mark alike an important stadium in his life journey. Perhaps no other period of time is so big with the future as that contained between these two landmarks. Great opportunities have been yours during the past three or four years, and much in your future lives will depend upon whether you have used them wisely. I am not thinking now only, or perhaps even primarily, of the classes you have attended; though surely it is no small privilege to be introduced by approved guides to the chief departments of human knowledge. I am thinking of the more subtle and often more effectual way in which you educate one another. 'As iron sharpeneth iron, so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend.' And what friends are there like college friends—those who have shared with us that rich seed-time of ideas, that unfolding of the mind to new interests and aspirations, to worlds unrealized before? Meeting one another in our Societies, we discuss, greatly daring, the most burning questions of the hour: one essayist chooses as his theme some pioneer of modern ideas; another leads us into the delicious by-paths of literature. And in the familiar give-and-take of closer friendship, what sharing of new discoveries, what soundings of unplumbed depths, in the lingering talk by the evening fire, in long country walks together, in the hundred opportunities of daily intercourse! Wonderful time, in which authors, who had been before but the shadow of a name, if indeed so much, became of a sudden friends and daily companions. Their magical lines sing themselves in our heads; their periods, haunting the chambers of memory, become part of our deeper selves, shaping us, half without our knowledge, to meet the issues of life.

'O fortunati nimium sua si bona norint.'

Who would not be young again to go through it all afresh?

But alas! only in the dreamland of memory can we who are old or middle-aged 'beget that golden time again.'

It was a favourite saying of Carlyle's that the true University of our days is a collection of books. But a library itself would not do all that a man's college years should do. The experienced guidance of the Professor is needed in the more serious studies of the place, and there is needed also that clash of youthful minds, that atmosphere of mutual incitement, which I have endeavoured to suggest. Only thus can the library do its part; only when these three influences combine, is the true University realised. The result of the combination is what constitutes that intangible but most real essence, a University education.

I will not flatter you by affecting to suppose that you are emerging from your undergraduate course as finished scholars, full-fledged men of science or profound philosophers. But because you are not specialists, and most of you unlikely to become specialists in any of the departments in which you have studied, it does not follow that you have therefore missed what you came here to seek. Specialists in any department are few, and the University does not exist solely, or even chiefly, for the training of specialists. You have been admitted at most to the outer courts of the temple of knowledge, but I trust that the glimpses you have obtained of the treasures within may prove sufficient to exercise a lasting influence upon your future lives. I trust that your studies in ancient and modern literature have furnished you with a standard of taste which will enable you to detect false sentiment, poor workmanship, and vulgarising suggestion, however loudly praised the work in which they occur. I trust that your initiation into philosophy may have been sufficient to enable you to rate at their true value the superficial crudities which are daily vended in the market-place as the latest birth of time, and may be of some guidance to you when you come to reflect upon these matters more ripely in the light of a fuller experience. And I hope that you carry away with you from your training in science that interest in the laws and processes of nature which is an unfailing source of intellectual

freshness. I hope in fine, that your University career has furnished you with permanent interests of a worthy kind which will have power to lift you above the banality and triviality into which it is so fatally easy to lapse. It matters not greatly what the particular interest may be; for as to hundred-gated Thebes of old, so there are many gateways to the kingdom of ideas, and if only you win and keep your citizenship there, it is of small account by which portal you enter. But some such serious interests you must have if you are to live in any true sense a *human* life, if life is not to be bounded, I mean, by material needs and satisfactions. In such interests you will have an abiding refuge from petty worries and from what may be at times the grinding monotony of the daily task. They will even do much to keep you unspotted from the world; they will set you clear of many of the grosser temptations to which the vacant mind falls an easy prey.

Your University career should also have bred in you a temper of intellectual freedom and intellectual sincerity. It should have taught you that reverence for truth which will lift you above partisan heat and prejudice, whether it be prejudice in favour of the old or prejudice which may be quite as ill-founded in favour of the new. 'Things are what they are,' says Bishop Butler in his unadorned but forcible English, 'things are what they are and the consequences of them will be what they will be: why, then, should we desire to be deceived?' Yet men do deceive themselves every day, pretending that many things are certain which are not certain, refusing to face uncomfortable facts, working themselves into a passion when they are met by contradiction, and venting upon the character of their opponents the sense of uneasiness which they cannot wholly suppress. Be it yours to avoid such offences against truth and charity. If your training has taught you anything, it should have taught you to appreciate the difficulty of the problem and to respect every honest attempt at a solution. It should have accustomed you to discuss the gravest questions calmly, seeking no personal or party triumph, no confirmation of foregone conclusions, but desirous only to know the facts as they

are and to follow truth whithersoever it may lead. Truth, says Berkeley, is the cry of all but the game of a few. You, I hope, will be of these few; and, if so, you will take to heart his concluding words, which sum up also much of what I have been endeavouring to say: 'Where it is the chief passion,' he adds, 'it doth not give way to vulgar cares or views; nor is it contented with a little ardour in the early time of life. He that would make a real progress in knowledge must dedicate his age as well as youth, the later growth as well as the first fruits, at the altar of truth.' And when the talk is of truth and disinterested devotion to truth do not be misled by the juggle of a word into supposing that it may ever be necessary to sacrifice at that altar the spiritual inheritances of our race. That truth, you may be sure, is no truth, which has not room within its confines for the Beautiful and the Good, and all that these imply.

ANDREW SETH.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (May, June).—The most notable contribution to the first of these two numbers is the article which Professor Hermann Grimm devotes to the peasant-poet, Johanna Ambrosius. She lives in Gross-Wersmeninken, one of the most remote villages of East-Prussia. Hard work and ill-health have shattered a constitution which was never robust; and it is in poetry that this poor and suffering, but gifted woman finds comfort. She would probably never have become known but for Professor Weiss-Schrattenthal, who published a collection of her poems last Christmas. The success of the little volume was such that, at the beginning of March, it had run into a fourth edition. The article gives a more recent poem of hers, written in January 1895. The depth of feeling and the vigour of diction which characterize Johanna Ambrosius's poetry, may be judged from this one production, which those of our readers who understand German cannot fail to read with pleasure and admiration.

MEIN LETZTES LIED.

Ein Lied möcht' ich ersinnen,
Ein wundersames Lied,
Das gleich dem duft'gen Maienwind
Die ganze Welt durchzieht.
Von Nord nach Süd, von West nach Ost
Bräch 'es sich Bahn im Nu,
Und gäb' der ganzen Menschheit Trost,
Gluck, Frieden, Heil und Ruh'.

Den sterbenden, den Kranken
Soll's süsse Labung sein,
Bei seinem sanften Flügelschlag
Verstumme Schmerz und Pein.
Bei Waffenklang, bei heissem Streit
Flamm' es empor den Muth,
Und alles unverstandne Leid
Mach' seine Stimme gut.

Doch wo die Sünde lauert
Mit blut'gem Schlangenblick,
Da werd's zum brausenden Orkan,
Treib' sie ins Meer zurück.
Auf jeden Spalt im Elendhaus
Leg' sich's wie Balsam kühl,
Es reinige die Tempel aus,
Setz' jeder Noth ein Ziel.

Und wenn dies Lied gelungen,
Nicht wünscht' ich Gold noch Ehr',
Zerschlagen möcht' die Leier ich
Und säng' kein andres mehr.
Im Wald müsst ihr verscharren
Mich heimlich unterm Tann',
Und Niemand soll erfahren,
Wer dieses Lied ersann.—

In the same number, Baron von Liliencron has a literary and historical essay, of which the object is to compare the Wallenstein of Schiller's tragedy with the Wallenstein which recent research has revealed to us.—In the paper entitled 'Biene und Honig,' Herr Bernhard Kübler writes most entertainingly of bees and honey. He does not, however, look at the subject from the scientific standpoint, but rather from the literary; and shows the part which bees play in poetry and folklore.—From a most interesting article in which Herr Kraus gives his reminiscences of the late Maxime Du Camp the following hitherto unpublished anecdote, showing how the French writer succeeded in getting from Boulanger a confession of his intended policy, is worth giving. At the time when Boulanger's star was in its zenith, a lady friend of Du Camp's was invited to a dinner where she was to be the general's neighbour. She asked Du Camp how she was to manage with the Minister for War. He instructed her to wait for a fitting moment, and when she saw the wine and woman-loving general at that stage when truth will out, to whisper the question, 'What will you do when you are Emperor?' The would-be dictator fell into the trap and answered, 'Eh bien, je ferai la noce!' which may be rendered into corresponding slang by, 'I'll have a jolly spree!'—In the June number General Verdy du Vernois begins his 'Personal Reminiscences of the War of 1870-71.' The first instalment is chiefly noticeable for the portraits which it gives of the leaders of the German armies.—In an instructive paper, Herr Weisman explains how insects see, and conveys a considerable amount of scientific information in a most popular form.—Both numbers have the usual political, literary, and dramatic reviews.

RUSSIA.

Voprosi Philosophii i Psychologii (Questions Philosophical and Psychological), begins its twenty-fifth number with a paper from the Editor of the journal explaining the steps taken by the Moscow Psychological Society to join in the national (one might say the European) mourning, on account of the

death of Alexander III. Then we come to the opening paper, which following up previous articles deals with the personality of G. S. Skovoroda, the Ukraine philosopher, as a thinker. But little understood by his contemporaries, or even by the succeeding generation, the epithet 'Mystic' has been applied to him without his really deserving it. His works are written in his own peculiar style, which is elegant, powerful and compressed. At the same time he was fully master of the subjects on which he wrote. The misunderstandings current concerning him mainly arose from the circumstance that those who took upon themselves to write of him were not acquainted with his writings or only very partially so. The author of this article, M. Yeffimenko, remarks that his predecessor, in dealing with the writings of Skovoroda, M. Zelenoagorskie, has also gone scarcely sufficiently far enough to make known the writings of our author. Yeffimenko remarks that when he first became acquainted with Skovoroda as a thinker, he was struck by his intellectual relationship to Spinoza, and as he grew more acquainted with Skovoroda, he was the more struck with this from the fact that he found that his resemblance to Spinoza did not arise from his having studied Spinoza's writings, or from acquaintance with his doctrines.—To this succeeds a paper by Prince S. N. Troubetskoi, on 'Determinism and Moral Freedom.' The author begins by telling us that the good and evil actions of man which are imputed to him, are counted his own, proceeding from his free will. The will of man is determined to action by these or those tendencies, feelings, presentations; aims are determined by the accompaniment of preceding causes, inborn peculiarities, education, and the whole life of man which constitutes his character. And as there are no actions without causes, so the whole of our actions are conditioned by these or the other causes, or this or the other empirical motives. The general conclusion to which our author comes in dealing with this question is as follows:—The moral life of a man does not depend on a mere physical determinism dependent on certain physical or physiological causes. Nor is it determined by one set of feelings, affections, or even by one class of aims or ideas, which compel him by his own, or the force of another consciousness. Neither, last of all, is it determined by the inner compulsion of his own motives, according to a law of psychological determinism, nor even by his own appreciation within himself of motives. Man can act from ideas as his motives, or as a rational or moral ground of action; but, at the same time, as a rational moral creature, man is free from the motives of an unconditional determinism, recognising them as the basis of his actions. He may be conscious

of a moral and purely ideal necessity leading him to the right, and yet he may act contrary to sufficient grounds, contrary to reason and duty or otherwise to a moral necessity. Such being the case, the question concerning the freedom of the will can be decided only in connection with the question concerning the nature of our moral consciousness, *i.e.*, in connection with the critical practical reason.—Amongst the papers in the special part of the journal is a lengthy one called forth by several that preceded it on the philosophy of Kant, professing to be a commentary on the Critique of Pure Reason. It is designated 'Kant in actuality and in imagination.'—This is followed by a continuation of Prof. Kozloff's papers on the life and works of the late Prof. Teichmüller of Dorpat. A brief sketch of his life has already been given: the present paper is occupied by an analysis of his principal works.—The number begins with a paper from the pen of M. B. M. Tchicherin, on the question of 'Space and Time.' These metaphysical entities are discussed more briefly than in Prof. Grot's papers. The author enquires what they are, their properties? Are they purely subjective determinations of the human reason as Kant thought, or have they an origin or in relation to objects also an objective reference? May they not have even some reference to the Absolute? If the last, have they a substantial or merely relational existence? As to the nature of Time, M. Tchicherin decides that it is merely a pure form of succession in its threefold reference of present, past, and future, in such wise that the past moment has disappeared, the present, so far as it can be realised to have any more than a mere ideal existence, is with us for a fleeting instant, the future has still to make its appearance. Fleeting and uncertain as the moment is, our author finds certain properties as belonging to it. These are uninterruptedness, equality of dimension, divisibility, and infinitude. Not that any such moment has much to do with the last, but their sum ever flowing on in their uninterruptedness has such a reference while each moment is a unity, and the sum of moments in their unending flow has neither beginning nor end, but comprehends all. Our author finds other properties. These are—1, Continuity; 2, Quickness; 3, Periodicity. As to what Time is, it is decided that it is a pure form of succession, but it is the succession of something else, the succession of nothing is nought. Yet it may be an attribute of the eternally acting subject, object, or absolute. M. Tchicherin next proceeds to analyse Space. It, too, is an empty form of extension, yet it includes all things. In itself it contains the bare idea or image of exten-

sion. Time, however, may be considered as successive moments, and as proceeding forwards and forming a protensive line, while the other entity Space may be considered as parts excluding one another, and thus forming the empty form of Space as different from Time. Space may be considered as possessing properties not dissimilar to those of Time. —This article is succeeded by a notice of the life of Samuel Puffendorff, one of the personages of the time of the Thirty Years' War. An interesting article by M. Vladimer Solovieff on the 'Ascetic Element in Morality' follows. The aim of it is to show the origin of the belief that evil springs mainly from the body or bodily nature. The general part of the journal ends with a paper by M. P. Babarikin, 'On the Nature of Beauty,' and M. Tokarski seeks the 'Origin and Development of Moral Feeling' in those principles of shame, sympathy, and veneration, so lately examined by M. Vladimir Solovieff. The rest of the 'Questions' is occupied by Reviews and Bibliography.

Rooskahyah Mysl—*Russian Opinion*—(April and May).—Our old friend lives on as vigorously as ever. It is marvellous with what industry and skill the editor, Mr. Lavroff, collects and marshals his 500 pages monthly.—'Bread' is the short title of a lengthy romance, by D. N. Mamin Sibiryak, commenced in January, which shows as yet no sign of close to its exciting career, extending already to 241 pages.—'History of a Samoyede,' Thomas Vylka of Nova Zembla, styled 'an immortal Chateaubriand,' by K. Nosiloff, is complete in our two present numbers.—'Their Souls' is a romance translated from the French of the Countess de-Martel (known as Gyp), which commenced in March, and bids fair to last.—'Poetry' is represented by L. Antonofski, A. M. Fedoroff, and by M. M. Gherbanofski (3 pieces).—'Goddess Diana' is a tale of very un-classical time and scene, the real name of the heroine being Elizabeth Gregorievna Vazentseff. The author, P. A. Sergienka, proposed to complete in two numbers, but a third instalment is now promised.—'Kamo griadeyshi?' (Quo vadis?) a romance of the time of Nero, is a clever translation from the Polish of Henry Senkevich. Commencing in April only, it has probably a long lease before it, Mr. Senkevich being a fairly verbose writer. This completes the imaginative portion of our two present numbers, comprising 406 pages.—The matter of fact portion contains many articles of interest. 'Résumé of a President' is a description of trial by jury and its usefulness, by Serghe Victorski.—'Speech before a Disputation,' delivered on March 15 (27), probably in the Moscow University (though

we are not told where), by I. I. Ivanoff, is a masterly review of the modern literary position.—'Foundations of Scientific Theory, of Art, and of Criticism,' by L. E. Obolenski; and 'Insurance of Labourers in Germany,' by G. B. Jollos, are serious papers.—Another chapter is furnished of P. N. Milyoukoff's treatise, entitled 'Chief Current of Russian Historical Thought in the 18th and 19th Centuries.'—'Position of Statistics among the subjects of Agronomical education,' by A. Th. Fortunatoff, is of equal interest with 'Observations concerning Literature,' by O. T. V.—Two further instalments of I. I. Ivanyoukoff's 'Outlines of Provincial Life' are given.—'Home Review' treats of the economical condition of labourers in villages; shortening of workmen's hours in the paper industry: conditions necessary for the settlement of colonists in Siberia; care of the Tchernigoff government in respect of popular education; sanitary condition of Board schools and their pupils; measures supposed to overthrow the agricultural crisis; and of the decease of the literary N. P. Lanin and A. N. Maklakoff.—'Foreign Review' glances at German, Danish, Swedish, Norweigan, Balkan, and Chinese-Japanese affairs, but gives the greatest share of attention to the incidents connected with the celebration of Prince Bismarck's 80th birthday.—'Contemporary Art' treats chiefly of musical doings at the Moscow theatres. Our Moscovite friends seem to have had a lively time of it in spite of their year of mourning for the late Emperor.—The 'Bibliographic Division' contains notices of 74 new works and reprints, but no English author is therein represented.—A history of English popular risings and rebellions and the reforms springing therefrom by M. M. Kovalefski, is entitled 'Angliskahyah Poughachofshina.' Our men of 'light and leading' among the discontented classes have little idea that they are thus typified in Russian literature by the rebel Cossack chief Pugatcheff, who in the reign of the Empress Catherine II. personated her husband Peter III., who was said to have died in prison a week after his dethronement in 1762, and who himself came to grief in 1775.—English attention is also bid for by an article entitled 'Tenure of land in Russia and in Ireland,' by A. A. Manouiloff.—'Russian Colonies in the Caspian Districts,' by G. V. Tarnofski; 'The Unfortunate Lucky-one,' a review of a posthumous work of A. N. Apoukhtin by A. M. Skabichefski; 'Richard III.,' from the new book on Shakespeare by George Brandess; a memoir of 'Felicia Cavalotti,' by S. V. L.; and a paper on 'Mathematics as a Science, and its Scholastic Surrogates,' by V. P. Sh. bring to a close two most interesting numbers.

ITALY.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (April 15th)—Signor Franchetti, in a paper on 'The Future of the Italian African Colony,' gives it as his opinion that by furnishing an insignificant capital the Italian Government might enable hundreds of Italian peasant-families to acquire by their labour in the colony economic independence and moral regeneration, not to be obtained in their own country.—F. Nobili-Vitallesche writes on 'Parliamentarism in Italy.—Luigi Palma describes the attempt at making a constitution in Naples in 1820.—Ernesto Mancini enumerates many of the most important facts which show the influence of their surroundings on the development of living organisms. He hopes, in common with many disciples of the transformist doctrine, to see the modifications produced by surroundings, classed and arranged as simple physical and chemical phenomena, ruled by determinate laws. Such classification he thinks would render possible the solution of several serious economic questions, and lead to the altruism and social well-being, which at present Nature herself hinders us from achieving.—C. Tondini contributes a long and learned article on 'Russia and the Union of the Churches.'—The bibliographic review notices J. S. Nicholson's 'Historical Progress and Ideal Socialism,' and also R. F. Ely's 'Socialism,' mentioning specially the broad and impartial exposition given in the latter book.—(May 1st) opens fittingly with an exhaustive paper on 'Tasso,' by J. Del Lungo, in which he points out Leopardi's enthusiasm for Tasso.—'Venice, its Art and Industries,' is the theme of the following paper, by P. Molmenti, describing its decline and revival.—F. Martini writes a biographical sketch of 'The Deputy G. Giuoti,' giving some of his political letters.—G. Lorenzini casts a long 'Look at the China-Japanese War.'—O. Z. Bianco describes all that Science has discovered about the moon.—And there is the lyrical prelude on Tasso's 'Aminta' delivered at the Argentine Theatre in Rome on the occasion of the poet's tercentenary.—(May, 15th)—Professor Zumbini gives an account of his 'Ascent of Mount Ventoux,' which he made with the intention of studying Petrarch's sensations while making the same ascent; the result is an interesting paper.—L. Palmi's chapters on 'The Attempt at a Constitution in Naples in 1820' are here concluded.—E. Penchia contributes 'Some Account of the Historians and Poets of the Val d' Aosta and neighbourhood.'—V. writes on 'Exchange,' and E. Arbib describes the 'Proceedings during the XVIIIth Italian Parliament.'—E. Rudolfi has a short 'Memoir of Gaetano Milanese,' who was much

esteemed as an art-critic and historian.—(June, 1st)—A. Graf contributes a paper entitled 'On Re-reading the Last Letters of Jacopo Ortis.'—P. Fambri discusses the 'Science of the Point of Honour,' apropos of Croabbon's book on that subject. —G. Baffico sends the first part of a novelette 'In the Darkness.'—G. E. Saltini writes on Leonora degli Albizzi and Sforza Almeni, as this month's portion of his 'Medicean Tragedies.'—Fanny Salazar writes a short memoir of V. Botto, who died in New York last year.—E. Masi reviews Barbiera's book on 'The Salon of Countess Maffei and Milanese Society.'—(June 15, 1895).—C. F. Ferraris discusses the university question in France, founding his observations on L. Liard's *L'enseignement supérieur en France*, 1789-1893.—G. A. Cesareo contributes an interesting paper on Petrarch's *Poesie volgari*, according to the most recent researches.—A. Mossi writes a short and appreciative memoir of his friend, the celebrated biologist, Carl Ludwig.—A. Paoli writes on 'Pietro Verri and Alessandro Manzoni.'—Professor Mariano writes a religious paper, in which he declares that the Christian *truth* is an universal form of faith; that the Christian *credo* contains all other beliefs, and is the ideal unity of these. It is sufficient, he says, if the State hold firm to the substance of that *credo*, as it is indispensable.

La Rassegna Nazionale (April 1-16).—A. Rossi reviews 'The Ethics of Success,' by William Thayer, Franklin, Mass., fully discussing the subject. In applying the principles of success to Italian affairs, the critic says that he is firmly persuaded that his country is sound at the core, and that it depends entirely on the Italians to restore circulation to the life-blood of Italy.—G. di Revel describes briefly the Italian colony in Africa, and its commerce.—G. Grabruski's theme is the French Revolution, the Empire, and the Restoration.—T. Martini gives an account of the wax-models prepared by Signor Tortori for the Royal Anatomy Museum of Florence, with its origin and history. Egisto Tortori was a self-made man, and T. Martini's article puts the man and his work in an interesting light.—A. Bortari sends from Athens a discription of the archæological discoveries made at Delphi.—The letters of a country parson are continued.—Luisa Anzoletto, a highly esteemed woman and author, contributes a short study on Cesar Cantu as an educator of the people.—Poperti notices Chiala's 'Secret policy of Napoleon III.'; and M. Ricci gives an account of the new Italian version of Aristophanes' 'Birds.'—There are also some hitherto unpublished letters by Raffaello Zei, one of the heroes of Curtatone, to his

father in Florence. They date from Pisa in 1848, the last being written from the hospital at Mantua, shortly before the patriot's death.—A. de Marchi writes on the Roman alimentary laws.—(May 1.)—'Torquato Tasso' and 'Aminta' are respective papers by A. Monti and G. Fortebracci in honour of the poet's tercentenary.—A. Armanni discusses the Agrarian strikes in the province of Cremona.—Senator Rossi gives some information on the forced cultivation of vines.—V. Grachi discusses social progress and Christian thought, saying the first depends on the last.—P. Turiello contributes a political paper entitled, 'From Senapé to Monte Citorio (the Italian House of Parliament).—L. d'Isengard contributes a few lively 'Pen-sketches' from his album of the patriotic campaign in Italy in 1861.—A. V. Vecchi, in describing 'The maritime war of Italians against the Austrians,' arrives at the Dano-German struggle in 1848.—L. de Cambray Digny has a discourse on socialism, to be continued.—(May 16).—'Tyranny according to Savonarola and Alfieri' is the subject of a paper by A. Zardo.—G. Grovamuzzi contributes material towards a history of earthquakes in Tuscany, and has collected authentic accounts of no less than 600 shocks in that province since the 10th century.—E. Mazzoni discusses melodramatic reform; Edirge begins a novelette, entitled 'Roses and Thorns.'—E. di Parravicino proposes remedies for existing social and political evils.—A. G. Touoni has a learned paper on the eighth centenary of the Council held by Urban II. in Piacenza in 1095.—A. G. Touoni writes on science and religion; and an Italian Catholic voter puts the question whether it is right for Catholics to vote, and decides that it is their duty.—(June 1).—L. Bonin has a monograph on De Maistre.—A. Tagliaferri discusses the large subject of nature, science, and religion.—V. di Giovanni describes the honours paid to Tasso in Sicily.—G. Rondini discusses the commentaries of E. S. Piccolomini.—C. Stravelli contributes notes on the historic basis of Italian art.—A. Rossi has some comments to make on the commercial treaty between Italy and France.—(June 16).—F. Persico writes on 'Science or Religion,' apropos of F. Brunetière's article in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, entitled 'After a visit to the Vatican.'—G. Cassani's 'dialogues' on the temporal power includes in this number Adrian I. and Leo III.—C. del Pezzo discusses the Eastern schism and the return of the Greek Church to Catholic unity.—F. Salvatori has a fine versified paraphrase of the Book of Ruth.—G. Hamilton-Cavaletto points out, in a long, learned article, some logical lapses in what he calls scientific socialism.—G. Fortebracci writes on

the critics of the *Vita Nuova*.—C. Bassi publishes extracts from the memoir of Cardinal Massaja.

Giornale Dantesco (1895, 1-2), contains :—'The Giolitine edition of the Divine comedy annotated by Tasso,' by T. Casini.—'Dante and Music,' by L. Paprini.—'The Second Circle of the *Inferno*,' *apropos* of a recent publication, by F. Cipolla.—'The Second Death,' by C. Carboni.—'The Indian type of Lucifer in Dante,' by A. de Gubernatis.—'Dante's Beatrice,' by C. Carboni.—'A new construction of the Valley of the Abyss,' by V. Russo.—'Vapori accesi non vid'io si torto,' by F. Ronchetti.—The bibliographical reviews notice Moore's 'A variant in the Vita Nuova.'—Toynbee Paget's article on 'Rahab's place in Dante's Paradise ;' and G. Maruffi criticises favourably Herinam Velsner's 'The influence of Dante on Modern Thought,' but says that the author seems ignorant of the fact that, contemporaneously with Dante's 'De Monarchia' there appeared other treatises on policy and jurisprudence of the same nature. The author, says the critic, would have done well to consult Professor Cipolla's work on the 'De Monarchia,' and on the 'De Potestate regia et papali,' by John of Paris. He also thinks it a pity that Mr. Velsner did not mention Doré and the Italian artist, Scaramuzza, among the illustrators of the Divine Comedy.

Napole Nobillissima (April-May), contains:—'The Frescos in the Ancient Church of S. Maria Annunziata,' by E. Bertaux.—'The Sansevero Chapel and Don Raimondo di Sangro,' by F. Colonna.—'The Street Toledo,' by A. Colombo. —'The Painting of S. Giroloma,' by V. d'Auria. — 'The Foundation and Primitive Church of Santa Chiara,' by G. di Montemazor.—'The Church and Convent of S. Lorenzo,' by de la Ville Sur-Yelon.—'The Sculptures of Michael Angelo Nacchermo in Naples,' by A. M. di Serracapreola.—'Sorrento to Tasso,' by Don Ferrante.

Archivio Storico Italiano (1895, 1)—Carlo Errera describes 'Sebastian Caboto's Expedition to Rio della Plata in the 16th Century,' taking his facts from the works and documents recently published.—L. Staffetta relates an episode in the life of Piero Strozzi, quoting from many letters of the time.—S. Bondi describes two hitherto unknown love-songs, one by Sebastian Re, of Chioggia, entitled 'Le lagrime d'Amore' (mdlii.)—the other by the Neapolitan poet Capaccio, entitled 'Il Tempio d'Amore,' and published in the 16th century.—The general review notices with commendation, J. Temple-Leader's 'Life of Sir Robert Dudley.'—U. Marchesini

writes on 'Notaries in ancient Florence.'—L. G. Pelissini contributes some letters by Louis XII., written during the preparation for the campaign of Naples in 1494.

Archivio Storico per le Province Napolitane (1895, 1) —Contains: 'Notes on Feudal Archives,' by N. Barone.—'The Migration of the name Calabria,' by M. Schipa.—'Summary of the Acts of Charles Eighth's Chancellery in Naples,' by O. Mastrojanno.—'A Diploma of the first Count of Lecce,' by G. Guerriere.'—'Urban V. and Johanna I. of Naples,' by F. Cerasoli.—'Miscellaneous Neapolitan Epigraphs,' by A. Sogliano.—The Bibliographic Review notices St. Clair Baddeley's 'Charles III. of Naples and Urban VI. etc.,' deprecating its want of method and journalistic style, which renders it almost useless. The book, says the critic, is full of mistakes.

Rivista della Tradizione Italiani (April, Roma)—(The first names are those of the towns or places in which the traditions are at home).—Polesine; 'Prejudices and Superstitions.'—Terranuova Pausania; 'The Wisdom of Solomon.' —Nuoro; 'Beliefs and Popular Medicine.'—Campochiaro; Molise; 'Love-songs, Praise of Beauty, Wishes, Declarations.' —'When Easter will be in May.'—'The Madonna of Graces at Saint Catherine Villarmosa.'—'The Treasure of Monteforte.' —'Saint Andree.'—'On the Foundation of Nizza della Paglia.' —'The Shadow of the Gran Sasso.'—'The Bridge of Pavia.'— 'The Legend of St. John called "Boccodoro" (golden-mouth).' —'The Lamester.'—'Novellettes on Creation.'—'*Stornelli* and Tales of the Province of Pisa.'—'Popular Songs of Acri.'— 'The Coming of the New Priest to Santa Croce Camerina.'

FRANCE.

Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (No. 2, 1895).—M. Louis Leger has the first place here with an article entitled, 'Etudes de Mythologie Slave,—Peroun et Saint Elie.' He gives first a summary of the references to Peroun in the Slave literature at command, and shows from these that he was regarded as the god of thunder and of storm. When the Russians, the Servians, and Bulgarians became nominally Christian, Peroun naturally had formally to be abjured, but M. Leger shows that in the folk-lore of the people his place came really to be occupied by a Bible saint, namely Elijah. The reason very probably was that the narratives connected with Elijah, such as his being in the storm on Mount Horeb when the thunder and the tempest and the earthquake shook the mountain, and his being finally carried away from the earth in a chariot of fire,

seemed to link him in the popular fancy to their ancient deity of thunder and storm. M. Leger gives numerous proofs of the hold which Elijah has on the imaginations of the Slave race, and the veneration paid him on the day consecrated to him in their annual festivals.—Heer M. A. N. Rovers furnishes an interesting study on the Apocalypse of John. It is chiefly a critical notice of a recent work on that book by Herr Pfarrer Chr. Rauch, of Darmstadt, which had been sent in in competition for the Teyler Society prize, and received the gold medal. Heer Rovers first surveys the history of recent controversy as to the unity, date, and authorship of the Apocalypse; and then goes carefully over Herr Rauch's work, and discusses its various parts. The question that is chiefly engrossing attention at present is, as to whether the Apocalypse is of Judaic origin or not. Is it a Jewish Apocalypse that has been edited by a Christian and transformed to serve a Christian purpose? or is it a compilation from various Apocalyptic writings of Jewish origin? or is it a Jewish Christian work of an original character? Herr Pfarrer Rauch discusses these questions, and here Heer Rovers passes his judgments as to them under review, and gives his reasons for approving or disapproving of his decisions. Herr Rauch regards the book as substantially Jewish, and in its present form it has undergone more than one redaction at the hands of Christian writers. What the interpolations are, he ventures to point out; and here the reviewer indicates where he fails to see eye to eye with him. The date of the component parts of the work, and the final redaction of it, are also carefully discussed here, but this, in full appreciation of the difficulty there is in coming to anything like assurance on the first of these points.—M. J. Deramey endeavours to determine the date of the introduction of Christianity into Abyssinia and into the countries bordering on it, or whose populations were ethnically of the same stock, and to trace its spread or development in those regions. Mr. Bent's explorations and discoveries receive warm commendation in the course of this article.—M. A. Quentin takes in hand a new study of the Izdubcer Legends, led thereto by a recent work of Dr. Jeremiahs, which M. Quentin regards as very imperfect and very inadequate.—M. Etienne Coquerel gives an elaborate summary of M. Renouvier's 'Etude philosophique sur la doctrine de Jésus Christ.' It was published two years ago in the fourth volume of *L'Annee Philosophique*, but is part of a larger work on 'The philosophy of the history of religions.' As its title in this detached form shows M. Renouvier does not deal with the details of the life of Jesus. It is his teaching and the development of doctrine that engages

his pen. In this article M. Coquerel puts before us the conclusions to which M. Renouvier has come, and, as he himself says, 'to estimate them with that respectful but complete freedom which the author would doubtless be the first to recommend.' This review will create a strong desire to study M. Renouvier's work by itself. It is clearly a work of considerable interest and importance, and shows how a calm and philosophic mind has been impressed with the moral teaching and power of the Galilean prophet.

Revue des Religions. (No. 2, 1895).—M. the Abbé de Moor concludes in this number the series of articles he has been contributing on the Book of Judith. In this last article he answers the arguments put forward by opponents of the Abbé's views, which are based on the Song of Praise, given as composed and sung by Judith in celebration of the death of Holofernes, and on the *data* regarding Judith herself in the concluding verses of the book. He dates the work, it will be remembered, from the years immediately following 648 B.C., and attributes its composition to the High Priest named in it, Joachim, or, as he is called in the Vulgate, Eliakim. The Abbé de Moor, it may be mentioned, identifies this High Priest with the Azariah mentioned in 1 Chronicles vi. 14, and ascribes the last verses of the work to the son and successor of that priest. The first of the objections based on the Song of Judith is the appearance of the word 'Titans' in it. It is contended that at this period the Hebrews had not come into contact with the Greeks, and become acquainted with their mythology. Our author's answer to that is that in the original Hebrew version the text most likely had 'Sons of Anak' and 'Rephaim,' and the Greek translator afterwards used the phrase that would be most readily comprehensible to the readers for whom he was translating. The other objection based on the song is the mention of the 'Persians' and the 'Medes' together, as present in Holofernes' camp, and as surprised at Judith's courage and piety. This objection springs, the Abbé tells us, from ignorance of history, and goes on to show how reasonable it is to suppose that, after the battle of Ragae in 651 B.C., Persian contingents were in Holofernes' army in this expedition. The age of Judith, according to the *data* of the book, is regarded by many critics as altogether incompatible with the description given of her beauty and physical attractions, when she appeared before the Assyrian general; and the details regarding her death at the age of 105 years are also regarded as casting suspicion on the veracity of the book. On the Abbé's showing she was fifty-two when she went forth on her

patriotic and adventurous expedition, but what freshness of beauty she then naturally lacked was supplied by supernatural means to ensure her success. The age of Judith at the time of her death, it is suggested, may have been by a copyist's mistake, or a redactor's ingenuity, altered from 75 to 105, and the Abbé shows how slight a change in the reading of the Hebrew letters would effect such a difference in the representation of her age. If her age at her death was 75 then that would allow ample reason for the statement, 'And there was none that made the children of Israel any more afraid in the days of Judith, nor a long time after her death.' The rest of M. de Moor's article is taken up with the political consequences, so far as Israel and Assyria were concerned, of Holofernes' death and the flight of his discouraged troops.—The next article has a somewhat sad interest. It is the second part of M. the Abbé de Broglie's paper read before the Scientific Congress at Brussels on 'Les Prophetes et la Prophétie d'apres les travaux d'Kuenen.' Since its appearance here its learned author has fallen a victim to a lunatic's vengeance for an imaginary injury. This section of his paper is devoted to an examination of Dr. Kuenen's views on Prophecy in the light of New Testament fulfilment, or non-fulfilment of the predictions of the Hebrew prophets.—The first section of an article by M. Castonnet des Fosses, vice-president of the *Société de Geographic commerciale*, on 'The Civilization of Ancient Peru' follows. That civilization he happily describes as 'one of the curiosities of history.' This part of the paper is taken up with the question as to the mixed peoples that formed the population of Peru at the time of the Spanish invasion and with the traditions as to its past found existing then among them.

Revue des Religions. (No. 3, 1895).—This number contains only two articles, but the 'Chronique' is almost exceptionally rich in its survey of the literature of a religious character of the period it covers. The chief articles are continuations of papers begun in former numbers. The first is the continuation and concluding part of M. the Abbé de Broglie's paper read before the Scientific Congress at Brussels last year. It was a review and refutation of Kuenen's 'Prophets and Prophecy in Israel.' Here he deals chiefly with Kuenen's treatment of Prophecy in the light of the New Testament. The vitiating error of the whole book is, the Abbé says, the false idea of the nature of prophecy from which Kuenen started. 'He fancied that the prophetic texts had respectively only one meaning; that that meaning must have been transparent; and that the prophets themselves and their contemporaries must have understood that

meaning.' 'Quite different,' says the Abbé, 'is the true conception of prophecy. It is *une parole de Dieu*, addressed to future generations, and which was not to be understood until after its fulfilment. It was an enigma of which the fulfilment was to furnish the key.' Did the prophets themselves, he goes on to ask, understand their prophecies? At best, he thinks, imperfectly. Prophecy is 'une vision lointaine; l'evénement est vu au travers des nuages mélés à d'autres événements intermédiaires ou plus eloignés.' 'Le sens chrétien,' he adds, 'est le vrai sens des prophéties.' M. le Abbé proceeds to contrast at some length the conception formed of Prophecy and of the Law by St. Paul with that of Kuenen, and then sets himself to show wherein the latter's conception of the *evolution* of Christianity from Judaism fails to meet the necessities of the case. Christianity is not, he says, the evolved flower and fruit of Judaism. A new creative and transforming element had to enter, and did enter, it in the Person of Christ to effect this. Christianity, or the Christian religion, was the work of Christ.—M. Castonnet des Fosses continues and concludes his extremely interesting paper on 'The Civilization of Ancient Peru.'

Revue des Deux Mondes (April, May, June).—In the two numbers bearing respectively the dates of the 1st of April and of the 1st of June, M. Albert Sorel continues and concludes an historical study, 'De Leoben à Campo-Formio,' which, together with M. Georges Duruy's 'Bonaparte à Toulon,' in the first of the May numbers, shows that the most conservative of French reviews has not escaped the influence of the Napoleonic revival. After detailing the incidents which led up to the treaty of Campo-Formio, M. Sorel thus characterises it: 'By the nature of the negotiations which preceded it, and of the compromises which form the substance of it, the treaty of Campo-Formio is directly connected with the treaties of the old *régime*. It is the immediate consequence of the treaties for the partition of Poland. It is the application, on the part of the Republic, for the benefit of France and in favour of the gradual emancipation of Italy, of the system of compensation formerly turned against France and constantly carried out by the Courts of Europe. But, at the same time, this treaty is connected with the Napoleonic policy; it is a connecting link between this policy and that of the Republic; it is pregnant with wars which must bring about either the subjection of Europe or the retreat of France to its ancient limits. The extermination of England remains the necessary, yet impossible condition of peace. In 1801, in 1805, in 1807, in 1809, France, victorious over the Austrians, the Prussians, and the Russians, will have

to be told, "Before taking any repose, turn your eyes towards England." Bonaparte, who, through fifteen years of war is to carry on this paradoxical policy, foresees, as early as 1797, its unavoidable consequences, and foretells their *dénouement*. On the 7th of October he writes to Talleyrand the following words, in which his destiny was revealed, "What you wish is that I should work miracles, and that is not in my power."'—M. Duruy's article consists of two parts, an extract from the memoirs of Barras, referring to the part played by Napoleon at the siege of Toulon, and limiting that part to three gross blunders committed by him; and an examination of Barras's statement. In the latter, the author adduces documents to prove that it was Napoleon who first saw where the keys of the town lay; that it was Napoleon who alone prepared the means for fetching them from the place where he had said they lay; and that it was Napoleon who, with his comrades and his chiefs, actually did go for them, and succeeded in obtaining them.—M. G. Bonet-Maury makes Mrs. Humphrey Ward and her works the subject of an article which may be characterised as rather analytical and explanatory than strictly critical. He joins to it a sketch of the philanthropic movement with which Mrs. Ward is connected.—In 'Terre d'Espagne,' which runs through several numbers, M. René Bazin gives an admirable account of his travels in the Iberian peninsula. In their blending of description and that personal element which gives an individuality to narratives of this kind, and raises them to a higher level than the mere guide-book, the articles show exceptional taste and judgment.—German political economy, and German politics are dealt with by M. Raphaël, Georges Levy, and M. G. Valbert respectively. The former gives a sketch of the financial system of the Empire; the latter recalls the circumstances of the Prince of Hohenzollern's memorable and fateful candidature.—April brings two other notable articles. One of them continues M. Bentzon's study on the condition of Women in the States; the other, by M. Edouard Hervé, considers the financial position of Greece. The author is of opinion that the wasteful expenditure of the Government is at the bottom of all the evil, and is the only obstacle to the economic development of an energetic nation, which only wants to work and to prosper.—'Lacordaire Intime,' is amongst the most interesting contributions to any of the six numbers for the quarter. It is written by the Comte d'Haussonville, who, with the help of unpublished letters, draws a charming sketch of the great Dominican orator, both as a friend and as a priest. —In 'le Havre et la Seine Maritime,' M. J. Fleury gives a history of the works which have given le Havre its commercial

importance, and also indicates those which are to be carried out with a view to putting it on a level with Liverpool and Glasgow, Antwerp and Rotterdam.—Several articles of exceptional interest are to be found in the number dated May 15th. Amongst these may be mentioned the further instalment of M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu's 'le Règne de l'Argent.' A more purely literary treat, however, is afforded to the reader in the charming paper in which M. Jean Dornis gives a sketch of the late poet and academician Leconte de Lisle, as he appeared to his intimate friends.—Thoroughly enjoyable, too, is M. Cherbuliez's essay on Tasso. It is appreciative, but, at the same time it is keenly critical with regard to the legend which has gradually formed about the poet; and ought to modify, to some extent, the commonly received opinion with regard to his trials and misfortunes.—Of the remaining articles, it will suffice to indicate the first instalment—in the part for June 15th—of a study by M. Filon, whose subject is the contemporary English stage. This first section is devoted to a retrospect and deals with the period between 1820 and 1865.

Revue des Études Juives (No 1, 1895).—Under the title, 'Sa'id B. Hasan d'Alexandrie,' Dr. Ignatius Goldziher brings to light a treatise that seems to have escaped the attention of the historians of Islam altogether, but which seems of some import. He found it in a collection of Arabic MSS. in the Oriental library of M. the Comte de Landberg, at Tutzing, in North Bavaria. It purports to have been written by a Jew who had gone over from Judaism to Islam in 1298, B.C. The real object of the treatise was to prove that the Jewish Scriptures foretold the coming and mission of Mahommed, and a considerable part of it is taken up with the references which its author, one Sa'id B. Hasan, of Alexandria, regarded as referring to the Arabian prophet. It gives along with these, however, some details as to the author, and sheds some welcome light on the relations of Islam to Judaism in the time of the writer. Dr. Goldziher quotes from the treatise some of the most interesting passages as to the author's conversion to Islam, and gives a summary of the passages from the Old Testament on which Sa'id B. Hasan bases his argument. It was not an uncommon thing for converts from Judaism to Islam to adopt this method of justifying their change of religion; but this example of that method seems to have escaped the notice of previous writers on the subject. Dr. Goldziher follows up his article with giving a copy of the text as is is in the MS. referred to.—The second article here discusses the origin and history of the Jewish festival of *Chanukah*. That it originated, as tradition affirms, at the purification and rededica-

tion of the Temple after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, M. Samuel Krauss does not here dispute; but he thinks that certain elements entering into its celebration, and certain historic facts regarding it, point to its having been from the first something more than a mere feast of dedication of the Temple. It has the character of a joyful festival, and its observance extends over eight days. In both cases it has a strong likeness to the Feast of Tabernacles; and M. Krauss regards, therefore, what is said as to this festival in the second book of the Maccabees, as resting on sound historic fact. We are there told that owing to the Jews not having been able to celebrate, in accordance with the precepts of the law, the Feast of Tabernacles preceding this, because of the measures taken against them by Antiochus, they took occasion now to combine with this feast of Dedication that of the Tabernacles in due form. The double form of the Feast has been perpetuated, but the real cause of this combination has been largely lost sight of. Other features in the celebration of Chanukah find their explanation in the double character it had at first; viz., the solemnity of the reading of the Law at it, and the usage of the Hallel. M. Krauss discusses also the reasons why Chanukah is called by the names of 'the Feast of Lights' and 'the Feast of the Women.' It is an extremely interesting study and illustrative of the growth of traditions and the combinations that circumstances sometimes bring about in religious institutions.—M. A. Epstein unites here the Tosefta, or additions, to the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch, indicating the several editions which he has compared for his purpose in view.—M. D. Kaufmann gives the text of what he describes as 'Le grand deuil de Jacob b. Solomon Sarfati,' of Avignon. It is bearing on the sorrow caused by the Black Death.—The other articles of note are 'Hafs al Qouti,' by M. Ad. Neubauer; 'L'édition de la Bible rabbinique de Jean Buxtorf,' by M. J. Derenbourg.—'Les Juifs de Prague pendant la guerre de Trente Ans' (suite), by M. M. Popper.—'Victimes de l'Inquisition au XVII. siècle,' by M. Moïse Schwab.—and 'Documents sur les Juifs de Wiener-Neustadt' (suite et fin), by M. Schweinburg-Eibenschitz.—Several important notes of a grammatical and historical character follow. The 'Bibliography' is also full and useful; the Report of the Société for 1894, and a summary of its publications are given under 'Actes et Conferences.'

Revue Sémitique d'Epigraphie et d'Histoire Ancienne (No. 2, 1895).—M. J. Halévy's 'Recherches Bibliques' form the largest and most interesting of the contributions to this number. They are here again divided into two sections. The

first carries forward his critical and exegetical studies of the text of the Book of Genesis, while the second contains another instalment of his 'Notes pour l' interpretation des Psaumes.' The same method, as formerly, is here followed, and it goes without saying that both sections are characterised by the same scholarly qualities and minute, painstaking care as have been exhibited by M. Halévy in all his literary work. The task he has set before himself as regards the Book of Genesis will seem to very many, now that the 'modern critics' have got so firm a hold on the public attention, a somewhat thankless and a somewhat hopeless one. But so erudite a scholar and so capable a critic as M. Halévy deserves a more than patient hearing when he pleads for a re-consideration of the judgments passed by modern critics on the Hebrew text of Genesis, or of any Hebrew text; and his arguments in favour of the unity of authorship rest at least on well considered grounds, and merit the highest respect. The chapters in Genesis here examined are xvii. xviii. xix. and xx. They are each treated separately. The contents are first briefly summarised; then the text is subjected to a careful scrutiny, and corrections of it are suggested where any special obscurity seems to arise from the text in the Massoretic version, these corrections being defended with much learned skill. The objections of the modern critical school or schools are then considered. The Psalms here dealt with are xxxvi. to xxxix. Emendations are proposed where it is clear that copyists' mistakes have been made, or redactors' surmises have been substituted for the original; and, where corrections have been made to any large or important extent, a translation is furnished with these corrections introduced.—M. J. Perruchon continues his 'Index des Ideogrammes et des mots contenus dans les lettres babyloniennes d' El-Amarna,' as these letters have been given in this *Revue* and elsewhere by M. J. Halévy.—M. S. Karppe gives us here the copy (transcription and translation) of the more complete text of the Nabopolassar inscription which has been published by Mr. H. V. Hilprecht in Philadelphia, and of which a less perfect version was given by Herr Strassmaier some years ago. M. Karppe adds a brief critical commentary on the text as now produced.—M. Clement Huart continues his article on 'Epigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure,' and M. J. Halévy follows with a short series of 'Notes Epigraphiques,' and reviews of books.

Revue Celtique (Avril, 1895).—The first place is here given to an article bearing the title, 'La division des Syllables,' by M. L. Havet, in which he deals with the theory expounded by

Dr. Whitley Stokes in the *Academy*, March 2, 1895, respecting the alliterations found in an Irish text, and the indications they furnish for the Irish method of dividing syllables as compared with the Latin. M. Havet is of opinion that the two methods are in much closer agreement than Dr. Stokes appears to think, and proceeds at some length to give the reasons for his opinions. —This is followed by an article by Dr. Whitley Stokes, who continues his studies of the Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas, and supplies a number of extracts from the Book of Lecan, containining a series of twenty-one related prose tales, with translations and notes.—M. E. Ernault contributes an interesting and scholarly paper under the title 'Sur quelques textes Franco-Bretons.'—'Dialectia' has a couple of notes on the Breton terminations *-mp* and *-mb*, and on *-lt* and und *-dr*, which occur in the local dialect of Ouessant in Britanny.—Under 'Recent Changes made in Scotch Gaelic' Mr. J. O. Russel writes on the changes which have made their appearance in the grammatical constructions of Scottish Gaelic since the middle of last century, and gives a number of examples taken from the Irish Testament of 1802, and the Scottish-Gaelic versions of 1767, 1807, and 1875.—M. E. Ernault's 'Etudes Bretonnes' are continued, the sub-title being again, 'Sur l'argot de la Roche.'—The 'Chronique' is unusually full, and contains a number of interesting items.

Le Monde Moderne (May, June, July).—In these three numbers fiction is represented by several completed stories, all of which, like the rest of the contributions to this magazine, are admirably illustrated.—Two papers which will be read with interest at the present moment are one bearing the signature of M. E. Bousson, with the title 'Madagascar,' and another signed 'Lux,' entitled 'L'Expédition de Madagascar.' The first contains a narrative of the affairs leading up to the present crisis, written, of course, from a French point of view, together with some account of the island, its administration, people, habits, and customs. The second describes the expeditionary army, and the difficulties to be surmounted on its way to the capital. —Travel is well represented by a 'La Chine' from the pen of M. S. de Goudourvielle, who gives his personal impressions of that country and its inhabitants, and by 'En visite chez les Touareg Azdjer,' by M. J.-B. d'Attanoux. Under the same heading may be classed 'Les Coins ignorés du Comte de Kent,' by M. B. H. Gausseron, who contributes to the June number an excellent paper on the marble quarries of Vermont, U. S.— The May number contains several papers of special interest for different classes of readers: 'Une heure sur la planète Mars,'

by M. Flammarion, 'Le Breviaire Grimani,' by M. Neukomm, 'Frédéric Mistral,' by M. J. Carrère, and 'Les Fumeurs devant l'hygiène,' by Dr. E. Monin.—As might be expected the June number contains an article on the *Salons* of 1895. The paper is by M. L. Gouse, and has no fewer than 38 illustrations.—The July number has several papers connected with the Theatre, and an interesting account of a visit to the Pasteur Institution. There is the usual abundant supply of literary and other notes of the month in each number, more especially in that for July.

SWITZERLAND.

Bibliotheque Universalle et Revue Suisse (April, May, June).—The first of these numbers begins, and the third of them concludes, a very valuable paper by M. Numa Droz, on the subject of obligatory insurance. The many questions bearing upon it are discussed with much skill and power, and in a spirit of great fairness and moderation. Without following the author into details, it may be indicated that he does not consider obligatory insurance against sickness to be a necessary corollary of obligatory insurance against accidents, and that though not prepared to decide as between free and obligatory insurance in the latter case, he is distinctly opposed to it in the former.—M. E. Rios again takes up the literary movement in Spain, and brings his series of articles on it up to date, giving his attention to what has been produced in Spain since he last wrote a similar paper, nearly two years ago.—M. Vilfredo Pareto writes about the dictatorship in Italy, by which he understands Crispi's administration. This, it scarcely requires to be pointed out, he by no means approves of, and considers to be at the bottom of several evils, amongst others of the increase of socialism, which, like everything else, has grown under persecution.—George Sand has been taken for the subject of a very able study by M. L. Marillier, whose estimate of that somewhat obsolete writer is marked with both fairness and sympathy.—The only complete article in the May number is one in which M. Abel Veuglaire gives an account of sport in Central Africa, drawn from the work lately published by M. Foa. Of the others again, all but one are continuations of papers already referred to, and that one begins an article on the Morocco question. It is continued, but not brought to a close in the June number.—M. Léo Quesnel devotes an article to two agnostics. These being Mr. Herbert Spencer and Professor Huxley, it does not contain anything particularly new to English readers.—An essay on R. L. Stevenson, by M. Aug. Glardon, is begun, and promises

well, but has not got to the point where it is possible to form a clear notion of the writer's estimate of him.—The Italian poet Boiardo, whose fourth centenary was celebrated last year, supplies M. Philippe Monnier with material for a comparatively short but well-written and well-balanced paper.—In all the numbers lighter literature is well represented, and the several chroniques are, as usual, excellent.

SPAIN.

La España Moderna (April, 1895.)—The story of 'The Last Waltz,' by Alcala Galiano, is completed in this number. It is very Spanish, and full of analyses of motives, besides being sprightly and well-written.—'Round about Caste,' (Casticismo) by M. de Unamuno, explains that the term applies to the influence of Calderon in the theatre, as he best embodies the local and transitory spirit of high caste Castillian Spain. It is a 'Symbol of race.' He compares Shakespeare's living men, with the dry bones re-clothed by Calderon. It is a liberal and knowledgeable paper, and he asserts justly, that in no revelation of the 'Castillian spirit' do they enter far enough into that spirit to reach its heart—its humanity!—Echegaray continues his confessions, as he calls his 'Reminiscences,' they are lively reading.—A catalogue of the works of Goya, 280 in number, besides engravings, is given.—It seems the Spanish Government sent a commissioner to the States to report on the growth of the vine in the centre and east, and we have here a paper by him. Dr. Vera y Lopes notes, that while there are 80,000 hectares under vines in California, there are 84,000 in the rest of the States. Also California produces scarcely half a million hectolitres of wine, while the other States just pass this quantity.—Castelar handles the European situation with his usual grasp, and notes the absurd banquet 'against religion' in Paris, remarking on the necessity for both Science and Religion.—An article on the 'International Press' deals instructively with the modern movement in Turkey.—Wolf's papers on the 'Castillian and Portuguese Literature' are continued, and Pereda's last novel is reviewed. This—*Peñas arriba*—is spoken of as one of the finest of the novels of the noted author of Santander.—May, 1895—A new story by Emilia Pardo Bazan commences in this number, entitled 'The Drama.' It goes without saying that it is well-written and readable.—'Round about *Casticismo*' is continued, and deals with Mysticism and Humanism. It is a careful study of the coming of the new spirit in Spanish thought. 'A glance at the present mental condition of Spanish society, will display the old historic Caste struggling against the new

people.'—In Echegaray's 'Reminiscences,' he tells us that up to the age of forty he had neither written a single verse nor composed a single drama. But this most successful of modern Spanish dramatists further adds, that he composed little dramas all his life! 'That is to say, that I had always an irresistible tendency to combine imaginary successes, with a certain plan more or less clear, and even with a certain dramatic finality.'—'The Culture of the Vine in California,' goes deeply into figures, and shows the different classes of wines attempted, and the various districts, with their supplies.—A paper on the 'National Archæological Museum in its Old Dwelling,' gives the first information to the outside world that such a valuable collection exists, and has been newly made accessible.—In 'The International Press,' we find a paper on 'Survivors of this Savage State,' based on one by J. William Black, in the *Popular Science Monthly*.—Castelar is especially interesting this month; he believes in the universal advantages that may be derived from the triumphs of Japan; and enlarges on the disintegration of Protestantism, while Catholicism is the basis of a Universal religion, as it rules over so many different races.—'Castillian and Portuguese Literature,' is continued, and a list of new books added.—June, 1895—'A Drama' of Bazan, is continued, and becomes more vivid and dramatic.—'Round about Caste' proceeds to deal with what the writer calls the 'Consumptive' state of Spanish thought at the present time. He says that 'our society is slow to receive an impression—despite an apparent impressionability that does not get beyond being epidermic irritability—and slow in losing it; arrivals are here as slow as departures, in ideas, in men, in customs.' A very suggestive paper.—'The Insurrection in Cuba, in view of the United States,' is a well-reasoned review of the situation from a purely Spanish point of view. It has been stirred up by the despatch of a *New York Herald* representative to Spain, and seeks to explain away the cause of the rebellion, and the determination of the insurgents to proclaim a republic. It does not explain the chronic discontent with the administration of the island that has continually bathed it in blood.—'Vine Culture in California' is concluded.—The 'Recollections' of Echegaray become startling!—In 'White *versus* Black,' we have a serious indictment against the United States, showing that during ten years they have lynched in the States more than a thousand black men and women. And these atrocities have not been limited to the Southern States: the State of New York has permitted these infamies in its territories, without making any effort to punish the authors.—Castelar is shrewdly discursive, and Wolf's 'Castillian and Portuguese Literature' is continued.—This magazine improves.

HOLLAND.

De Gids.—In the May number Conferus concludes 'Mea Culpa,' a short story, intensely pathetic, of which the interest lies in a true and minute unveiling of human nature and feelings. —'Eastern Problems' is a review of the collected writings of Prof. Veth intended as a compliment for his 80th birthday, which he just failed to reach. His great work on Java is now somewhat out of date, but up to the last he continued writing papers on questions connected with the East.—Next comes a review of 'Marcella,' highly complimentary to Mrs. Ward.—Van Wickevoort Cromelin contributes 'Superstition in Japan,' a most interesting paper destined to form a chapter in a book on Japan shortly to be published by Willink.—'Ozone as a purifier of Drinking Water,' by V. A. Julius, discusses the invention of Schweller, the sterilisation of water and the possibilities of its practical application without undue cost, but as to the last no reliable data are given.—'A French book on the history of the Batavian Republic' is a discussion of Legrand's work recently translated into Dutch.—June begins with 'Soul Bonds,' a sketch of a mismated couple, the wife romantic and mystic, the husband scientific and materialistic.—A translation is given of the portion of the Shah's diary referring to his visit to Netherlands in 1888.—Ian Veth has an interestingly written paper, 'A Spoilt Masterpiece?' discussing Dyserinck's allegation that Van der Helst's great picture the Arquebusier's Banquet was mutilated by a third of the height. He thinks not, and also thinks Dyserinck's estimate of Van Helst exaggerated.—'Gaston Paris and his scholars,' by Prof. A. G. van Hamel, is an account of the life and surroundings of the great French philologist, and of his influence on others in the study of mediæval lore and especially of the Romance languages. He gives a bright picture of Paris's Sunday receptions and the celebrities to be met at them.—'Investigation concerning the tiredness of School Children,' by Henkels, opens an important question as to whether it is best for children to have short terms of work with play between, or the shortest possible work-hours and the rest of the day free, and other cognate inquiries.—July opens with a vivid little picture of Dutch peasant life entitled 'Blood-letting,' full of quiet humour.—'The Simplification of our language,' by P. J. Cosijn, is an amusing paper written in a pleasantly sarcastic vein. Dutch spelling is, within certain limits, so variable that to alter or improve is an embarrassing and hopeless project, certain uses of the article and personal pronouns are so absurd that he supposes the general public must just continue to decide what is correct since no other authority is likely to be deferred to.—W. C. van

Manen has a paper on the old Syraic MS. found by Mrs. Lewis, and discusses at some length the point concerning Matt. i. 16. —In 'Juvenile offenders and the Dutch Law,' Prof. van Hamel shows how much is left to be desired in the present state of the law, and gives suggestions for reforms.—An excellent article by Prof. W. van der Vlugt treats of Living Folk-law, by which he means the law that goes on existing of itself in old customs and observances, independent of Acts of Parliament. He adduces many most curious and interesting instances from the life of the peasantry. Naturally these customs are fast vanishing before the universal prevalence of abstract jurisprudence, though not before the peasants have had time to evolve proverbs expressive of their opinion of the change, such as 'A Judge and a wisp of straw are soon made,' 'Offices are of God, officials belong to the Devil.'

Theologisch Tijdschrift.—In the March number Dr. Klap's account of Agobard of Lyons is continued; in this instalment we have his theology and his dealings with Scripture.—Dr. Eerdmans discusses the date of Zechariah i.-viii., and finds the internal evidence to point to the years preceding the taking of Babylon by Cyrus.—There are notices of a valuable kind by Dr. L. Knappert on several books dealing with early Teutonic and Icelandic faiths and manners.—In the May number Dr. van Manen occupies a good deal of space, giving short discussions of several questions connected with the Gospels, and reviewing some books. One of these is Jülichers' Introduction to the New Testament, on which it is said that the scientific scholar of the New Testament must study its books not as a collection by themselves isolated from all other books, but as a part of early Christian literature, each book of the New Testament being viewed in its connection with that class of early Christian writings to which it belongs. This is how things are done in Holland; Prof. van Manen teaches not the New Testament but early Christian literature; and to this it will no doubt come in time in other countries also. Germany, however, is to the eyes of the Dutchman, far behind in this respect. Jülichers' Introduction is on the old lines, and deals with no works but those contained in the canon.—Krüger's History of Old-Christian literature, another of the same set of hand-books, published by Mohr, Freiburg, answers somewhat better to Dutch requirements. Here all the early Christian Epistles, those of Seneca, and those of Clement and Ignatius, as well as those of Paul, are treated in one chapter, while the second chapter deals with the class of Apocalypses, and the third with Histories, the Gospel of the

Hebrews and the Acts of Pilate finding a place in it as well as the Synoptics.—Dr. Rovers discusses the question whether Luke knew and used the works of Josephus, and comes to the conclusion that he did, and that both incidents in his narrative and his literary style supply evidence of the fact.

DENMARK.

Year-book for Northern Archæology and History (Vol. IX., part 4, 1894).—An article by P. Hauberg on 'The Scandinavian finds of Roman gold and silver coins older than 550 A.D.,' brings up to date the information on this subject. The finds fall into two main groups (1), those of silver denarii ranging from N ro to Septimius Severus, 119 in all, containing 5540 coins, and (2), those of golden solidi of both the Eastern and Western Empire from 395-518 A.D., numbering in all 486 coins. Full lists and tables give a clear view of the localities of the finds, and relative numbers of the coins of the different emperors. Of the first group Gothland has 3748 of the total number, as might be expected of this Carthage of the north, and the leading Emperors are Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. In the second group Bornholm and Oland show the largest finds of both Western and Eastern coins, while Gothland is only rich in those of the Eastern Empire. The break between the periods is attributed by the author to the wars between the Romans and Germans, and the appearance of the solidi to the sums paid by the former to buy off the barbarians.—'Remains of wooden buildings from the early Middle Ages in Denmark,' by Henry Petersen, is mainly directed to the consideration of the original wooden churches, of which one or two fragments have lately come to light. A coloured plate is given of one of these, a plank-end in the wall of Hörning Church, showing an interlaced serpent pattern, which the writer is inclined to date as older than 1000 A.D.—S. B. Löffler also contributes a short paper on the 'Churches of Lillehedinge and Karise,' pointing out certain peculiarities which he thinks marks them out as places of refuge.—(Vol. X., Part 1).—'Fortified Churches in Denmark from the early Middle Ages,' by Otto Blom, combats an idea that has been raised with regard to many churches dating from about 1150 to 1250, that they were planned not only as places of worship but as places of defence in time of war. After an interesting account of the methods of attacking and defending mediæval fortifications, the writer goes over representative specimens of the various churches in question, and shows how unsuitable for military purposes they would have

been. They could not be defended at all in many cases, they could not have been provisioned, and they had no conveniences for the besieged. Besides, the period of their erection was the one when Denmark was safest from both external and internal foes. The arguments are strong, but no doubt upholders of the theory will have something to say to them.—Hans Olrik's article on 'Two copies of a Danish Royal Charter of 1230,' might easily have been very much shorter and less painfully minute. The charter is in favour of the monks of Clairvaux, one of the copies being issued by Valdemar II., and bearing his seal, while the seal of the other is apparently that of his son, Valdemar III., who was for some time King along with his father. Excellent facsimiles of the charters and drawings of the seals accompany the article.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Divine Life in the Church (Scottish Church Society Conferences, Second Series). 2 vols. Edinburgh: J. Gardner Hitt. 1895.

In these two volumes the Scottish Church Society, notwithstanding the adverse but not always relevant criticism which has been bestowed upon it in a variety of quarters, continues to give an account of itself and to set forth the views entertained by its members on various ecclesiastical topics, and the end for which the Society exists and is trying to achieve. There is not a little that is refreshing in the contents of the volumes, and whether the authors manage to convince their readers or not, what they have to say will at least be read with attention. The first volume is almost wholly taken up with a treatise on the sacrament of Baptism. The author is Dr. John Macleod, the minister of Govan, and he there sets forth his views which are supposed to be highly 'sacramentarian,' but which, so far as we can make out, he holds to be the true doctrine of the Presbyterian Church on the doctrine in question. Whether what he here teaches is in perfect accord with the standards of the Church of Scotland, we do not, of course, presume to judge. His views, whether right or wrong, are certainly set forth with great force and clearness, and with that perfect persuasion which is sure to enlist a sympathetic, if not favourable, perusal. Other subjects treated of in the same volume are more or less akin to Dr. Macleod's, but with the difference that they are less of a speculative and more of a practical character. Three of the papers are on the instruction to be given to catechumens before and after first communion, and two on the obligations of sponsors. The contents of the second volume are more varied. Here we have papers on The Celtic Inheritance of the Scottish Church; on Neglected Provisions and Remediable Defects in the Presbyterian Organisation; on the Training of Candidates for the Holy Ministry; on Lay Work in the Church; on the Duty of the Church towards different Classes of Society; on the Attitude of the Church towards the Leading Phases of Modern Thought; on Church Music and Choirs and Church Fabrics. The papers are pervaded by a feeling of great seriousness and practical earnestness. Their authors are apparently all men well acquainted with their subjects, and though, from a literary point of view, the quality of their papers vary considerably, they are for the most part solid and informing. Among the laity, Dr. Almond's short paper on Church Music and Choirs will probably meet with a hearty approval. Dr. Rowand Anderson's contribution deserves the attention of church builders. Mr. M'Gregor's paper on the Celtic Church shows abundance of reading. He finds fault with the use of the designation 'Celtic' for the ancient inhabitants of the British Isles, and seems to have made the discovery that St. Martin of Tours was the 'uncle' of St. Ninian, and that St. Patrick was his 'grand-uncle.' One would like very much to see how these two points are made out. Two papers on the Attitude of the Church towards Modern Criticism and the Bible, by Professors Flint and Robertson, will, as need hardly be said, repay perusal.

Aspects of Judaism: Being Sixteen Sermons by ISRAEL ABRAHAMS and CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

These sixteen sermons have, with three exceptions, been addressed by their authors to Jewish congregations. Messrs. Abraham and Montefiore are not priests but laymen, and have from time to time been permitted by Jewish custom or courtesy to occupy the pulpit in several synagogues. The sermons are valuable as showing the kind of teaching which is there given, and as indicating to some extent the position held by at least some Jews in the theological world. They are equally divided between the two authors; the first eight being by Mr. Abrahams and the second by Mr. Montefiore. The tendency in them all is thoroughly practical. All of them are pervaded by a devout and reverent spirit and set forth a high ethical ideal. Mr. Montefiore's sermons are distinguished by a philosophical or speculative cast of thought. The topics he deals with are such as 'The Omnipresence of God,' 'Holiness,' 'Religious Liberty,' 'Religion and Morality,' and 'The Consciousness of Judaism.' Mr. Abrahams, on the other hand, deal more with the thoughts and actions of everyday life, and are pervaded by a certain sweetness of sentiment. Passages and stories from the Talmud are often used with great effect. Here and there Mr. Abrahams shows that he is an acute observer of human nature, and that he can infuse a light and pleasant irony into his words, and often a genial humour. The subject of one of his sermons is Angels. After saying that no angels in the Bible have assumed the female form, he goes on to add—'Woman's angelic mission was to be unobtrusive, ministering to those that suffer. She needs no other cloak than her womanliness, no other wings than her swift sensitiveness, her quick sympathy. When Abraham was about to slay Isaac, the angels in the legend wept sorrowful tears, which fell on Isaac's neck, hardening it and rendering it innocuous to the blow. How often since have woman's tears softened the strokes directed against the hearts of those they love, healing the wounds that they could not prevent!' Further on he asks, 'Has it ever struck you how chary the Angels were of their words?' and then says, 'The Angels of the Bible did many wonderful things, but they had very little to say. They mostly speak in monosyllables, they rarely utter two sentences together; and when they have done their work, they go without waiting for thanks. Imagine a would-be human Angel setting about, say, the rescue of Hagar from the wickedness of to-day. He would call a public meeting, elect himself chairman of a committee of ways and means; he would bore every one to death with eloquent speeches, and he would send some one else to the spot, just too late to save her, whereupon he would receive a hearty vote of thanks for his prompt philanthropy. We carry this policy into our prayers at this season of the year, when the day of Atonement is near at hand. We call public meetings in the synagogues; lengthily and lustily we confess in words that we are sinners and expect I know not what from our condescension.' Indications occur throughout the volume that the authors are not strangers to the criticisms which have been directed against the Old Testament. In the last sermon Mr. Montefiore gives a somewhat peculiar rendering to the words of Abraham's call.

The Presbyterian Church: Its Worship, Functions, and Ministerial Orders. By the Rev. ALEXANDER WRIGHT,

M.A. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1895.

The movement initiated some years ago for the improvement of the order of public worship in Scotland continues to bear fruit, and has already given rise to the publication of a considerable body of literature, in some cases of a controversial character, but for the most part historical. Not so long ago we had a bulky volume by the Rev. Mr. M'Crie, treating of the history of public worship in Presbyterian Scotland, and now we have Mr. Wright's smaller, but useful volume, treating of the same subject. This work, Mr. Wright informs us, has been undertaken for the several purposes of promoting improvement in the ritual of the various branches of the Presbyterian Church, of showing that such improvements are in accord with the use and wont of the Reformed Church of Scotland, of describing the various functions and offices as prescribed in the 'Directory for the Public Worship of God, agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster,' and of indicating both the Scriptural regularity and validity of Presbyterian Orders. The work is, as need scarcely be said, for the most part, historical. Mr. Wright looks upon the years between 1560 and 1650 as the best period in Scottish Presbyterian ritual, and thinks that the various churches cannot do better than go back to the practices of that period and make them the starting points for any developments that may be deemed necessary for the improvement of modern practices. There can be no doubt that a good deal may be said in favour of his contention, and probably most Scottish ministers, excepting, of course, those who are strong in their liking for the English Book of Common Prayer, will agree with him. Most readers, more especially if they entertain the common belief that what is usually regarded as the Presbyterian Order of Public Worship is genuinely Scottish, will find Mr. Wright's pages instructive. As those who are acquainted with the subject know, he has little difficulty in showing that the original Presbyterian mode of public worship was greatly interfered with by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and that much of its barrenness and unattractiveness was due to them. Mr. Wright gives the history of public worship since the earliest days of the Reformation down to the present, noting all the changes which have occurred and all the controversies which have arisen, as, for instance, those concerning the 'Nocent Ceremonies,' The Lifters, and the controversy, if so it may be called, about Laud's Liturgy. Now and again he allows the order of public worship in Scotland to be described by eye-witnesses. Altogether he has put together a very instructive and useful volume—one which will do much to dissipate prevalent errors, and to promote the object he has in view.

Mental Development in the Child and the Race—Methods and Processes. By JAMES MARK BALDWIN, M.A., Ph.D. New York and London: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Those who have read Professor Baldwin's occasional papers in some of our English periodicals devoted to biological and psychological research, and especially those who are also more or less familiar with American journals of the same nature—to which, naturally, most of his essays and articles have been contributed—will be very glad to have put before them now, in this compact and methodical form, the results of those interesting researches and experiments in which he has been engaged for some years, and the inferences and deductions from them already published in those

articles, as also his acute and incisive criticisms of current biological and psychological systems or theories with which his papers were often flavoured. This substantial volume is not, however, a mere collection and reprint. It is for the most part an original work, the fruit of a more prolonged and careful weighing of the matters that have been engaging his attention. In their magazine form his monographs courted a more minute and detailed criticism from specialists than perhaps they would otherwise have received. Professor Baldwin has welcomed, and in the present work taken advantage of, such criticism. He has here and there supplemented what was defective or seemingly obscure in his earlier expositions, and obviated objections taken to this point or that by a fuller statement, or has defended his views against these objections. But the present work is only a part of a greater whole. The sub-title, *Methods and Processes*, makes that clear from the first. And in the preface the author outlines the work in its completed form, and tells us that the second part of it—to appear under the rubric 'Interpretations'—is well under way. This will be welcome news, for what is here given more than justifies the hope that we shall have in the completed treatise a solid and valuable contribution to psychological science. Professor Baldwin starts from the principle, so neatly stated by Professor Flint, that 'nothing in the world is intelligible apart from its history, and man must be of all things the least so, because he is of all things the most complex, variable, and richly endowed.' Our author's object here is to discover, if possible, how man has come to be so, and he has set himself, therefore, to trace the history of the development or the evolution of man's varied endowments and activities. He is fully aware of the delicacy and difficulty of his task. He knows well that the study of the embryo, the infant, the child, the youth of to-day, gives in itself no royal road to the knowledge he is here in search of. Every infant now comes into the world with an inheritance which was lacking to the first of the race, and this has to be discounted or resolved back through its increments, if we would get again to the fountain-head. Even the first of the race had himself a long history of evolution behind him. But the difficulty of the task, while duly considered by biologists, does not drive them to despair. It only teaches the wiser among them to proceed with caution, and weigh well both the methods of inquiry to be adopted, and the results arrived at. Professor Baldwin is cautious almost to a fault. While carefully conducting his experiments with a view to tracing the genesis of action and thought, of feeling and sentiment, of reason and will, in infant and child-life, he has ever present to his mind the complex conditions of the problem he is seeking to solve. But the caution he exercises, and the wise discretion he shows in his inductions from the facts observed, give his readers a large measure of confidence in following him here, and he has the gift of making his experiments perfectly clear to us, and expressing himself always in a lucid and interesting manner. Specially interesting, we think, are the chapters dealing with the origin and development of such mental phenomena as memory, imagination, thought, volition, and attention. But the whole work is characterised by the same love of detail and thoroughness, and scientific accuracy, and will well reward a careful study, and awake an eager desire to possess the forthcoming volume, the sequel and crown of this. We must not omit to mention that this volume is furnished with a very helpful index, an appendix noting new experiments or observations on children, not noted in his occasional papers, and another giving Colonel Mallevy's remarks on right and left-handedness from his report on Sign Language among North American Indians.

Dualism and Monism and other Essays. By JOHN VEITCH, M.A., LL.D. With an Introduction by R. M. WENLEY, D.Sc. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1895.

In addition to the introduction, this volume contains three essays. The first on 'Dualism and Monism' takes the form of a review and criticism of M. Dauriac's *Croyance et Réalitié*, and has for its object not so much the repudiation of M. Dauriac's views, though an attempt at this is made, as to set forth the views which the author himself held on these important philosophical problems. The second essay is apparently the opening chapter of a more extended work on the philosophy of history, and is occupied for the most part with a criticism of the Hegelian doctrine—a doctrine with which, as need hardly be said, Professor Veitch had but the very slightest sympathy. The remaining essay appeared some time ago in a volume entitled *Wordsworthiana*, edited by Professor Knight, under the title of 'The Theism of Wordsworth,' when it was at once regarded as a very able piece of exposition. The freshest part of the volume, and that probably which will attract the most attention at the present moment, is the introduction contributed by Dr. Wenley. In this, besides giving a succinct sketch of the late Professor's life, he endeavours to fix his place in the history of philosophy, and accounts for that singular combination there was in him of the philosophic and poetic. To the personal character of the late Professor, Dr. Wenley pays a fine tribute, and sums up what he has to say of him in the following sentences:—'Contemplative rather than speculative, emotional rather than exclusively intellectual, yet of immense moral strength and of a corresponding intensity in righteous indignation, the man's greatness lay in his entire humanity, and not in the special predominance of any one acquirement. Spiritual intuition was the central fire. And with the quenching of this there passed a personality who, in philosophy, affected youthful minds no more than indirectly, but who gained the higher meed of leaving an indelible impression on the characters of those with whom he was brought into close contact, by the unswerving manliness with which he battled, as he found opportunity, for all that was pure and elevating and of good report.'

Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education. By S. S. LAURIE, A.M., LL.D., Professor of the Institutes and History of Education in the University of Edinburgh. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1895.

Professor Laurie has here done the teaching profession a considerable service, and furnished those who take an interest in the history and science of education with a work which can hardly fail to win their approval as being eminently instructive and suggestive. Such works in this country are extremely rare. In Germany there is almost a superabundance of them, but although both here and in America works on education, some of them of the highest value, are common, among them so far as our present memory goes we are unable to recall anything comparable in scope and aim with the volume now before us. It is not a History of Education. The author does not desire it to be regarded as such. It is simply an Historical Survey. We could almost wish that Professor Laurie had been more ambitious in his aim and made the work a history. It may be, however, that the time for that has still to come, and that what he has now

issued is intended to pave the way for a more detailed and exhaustive work. We hope that it is ; for something of the sort, written by one so well furnished for the task as Prof. Laurie, has a place in our literature waiting for it. Meantime what he has now published may be regarded as an admirable introduction to the history of Pre-Christian Education. That, we should say, is its real character. It is so condensed and leaves so many points for elaboration, that one has the feeling in reading it that it contains in many places only an epitome of what the author has to say, or of what might be said in elucidation of the topic in hand. By education Prof. Laurie, so far as the purposes of his present volume is concerned, understands 'the means which a nation, with more or less consciousness, takes for bringing up its citizens to maintain the tradition of national character, and for promoting the welfare of the whole as an organised ethical community.' Men in a savage state he accordingly passes by. That they undergo training, as for instance, in the use of arms, he admits, but this he maintains is not education except in a narrow technical sense. Real education begins, he holds, 'only when the *ideas* of bodily vigour, of personal bravery, of strength, beauty, or morality become desired for themselves, or as the necessary conditions of political life.' Hence his Historical Survey includes only the more or less civilised nations of the world, and treats successively of education among the Hamitic races, the Semitic, the Turanian, and the Aryan or Indo-European. In the evolution of the education he distinguishes three principal stages. 'First of all,' he says, 'we have the unpremeditated education of national character and institutions, and of instructive ideals of personal and community life in contact with specific external conditions, and moulded or being moulded by them.' In the second, the education of the citizen becomes a matter of public concern, when means often inadequate, are taken by individuals or societies within the State for handing down the national tradition by the agency of the family and the school, and by public institutions and ceremonials, but without any systematised purpose. In the third stage education passes out of the hands of irregular agencies, and from being merely public and voluntary becomes a political or State interest. In this last there is a more or less conscious ideal of national life which determines the organisation of educational agencies, and reduces them to an elaborate system designed to meet the wants of the citizen at every age from infancy to manhood. The only nations in Pre-Christian times which reached this last stage, were, as Prof. Laurie points out, the Chinese and the Doric Greeks, as represented by the Spartans. Among the Hamitic races the Egyptians are singled out for treatment, and very instructive is the way in which our author handles his subject. While not accepting all that has recently been said about the Egyptians, he is nevertheless able to give a remarkably interesting account of the methods of education among them. Considerable emphasis is laid on the part which the art of writing was made to play, and the fact that it was extensively used and widely taught in Egypt is not forgotten by our author when he comes to speak of education among the Hebrews, the chapters on which are deserving of special attention by theologians as well as by educationalists. It would take us too far, however, to indicate even a hundredth part of the vast mass of information which is here brought together. All we can do here is to express our admiration for the volume, and the hope that it will be as extensively read as a work of its unquestionably high merits deserves.

Harvard College by an Oxonian. By GEORGE BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L. New York and London: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

Dr. Birkbeck Hill seems to have been entirely captivated by the advantages and amenities of Harvard as a seat of learning, and writes of it with an enthusiasm which to those who are acquainted only with the Universities of the Old World will be quite unexpected. His admiration, however, is not altogether untempered. Though here and there he contrasts his own University somewhat unfavourably with the great American seat of learning, there are some things in which he admits that the superiority lies with Oxford, and on which the trans-Atlantic University has much to learn from the older institutions on this side of the world. If there is more freedom and greater effort to keep abreast of the times and to adapt itself with the changing requirements of the age at Harvard, there is, on the other hand, less of that social life and culture which are to be found in Oxford or Cambridge. Dr. Hill's aim, however, in the volume before us has not been merely to set down his 'impressions' of Harvard, but to give an account of its origin and development. This he has done in a series of chapters which, besides being full of information that cannot fail to be attractive to university men on this side of the Atlantic, have a sort of charm about them which will make them pleasant as well as instructive reading for all classes. They are running over with anecdote and bring the reader into contact with most of the great men of the United States, and recall not a few of the most striking events in the early history of the Union. One of the points which is dwelt upon with emphasis and held up for imitation in this country is the affection in which the sons of Harvard have always held their *Alma Mater* and the munificent liberality with which they have supported and endowed her. The bequests which are continually reaching her are something remarkable, and in striking contrast with the comparatively small sums devoted to similar objects by private benefactors in this country. The reason of this Dr. Hill more than hints is to be found in the fact that while men here try to perpetuate their name by founding a family, men in the United States try the much surer plan of connecting their names with a University. 'In England,' he says, 'rich men found families; in America they found universities, or enlarge them.' The rule, however, he admits is not without exceptions. 'There are other Americans,' he says, 'who, like the wretch Jay Gould, heap up riches for riches sake; who living give nothing, and dying leave nothing to any great and noble object. They pass away without showing that for one single moment they had been touched by a generous thought. "They die, and make no sign."' The affectionate regard in which Cambridge, and more particularly Emanuel College, is held at Harvard is also dwelt upon. For the rest Dr. Hill enters minutely into the details of University life as it is at Harvard, and gives an account of its foundations, chairs, clubs, government, amusements, traditions and regulations. As might be expected, one is never allowed to forget that the book is written by an Oxonian. Oxford as it was, or is, is continually referred to, and the stranger to both, while reading about the younger institution across the Atlantic, will learn much, though not so much, about the older institutions to which it still looks with reverence.

Julian, Philosopher and Emperor, and the Last Struggle of Paganism against Christianity. By ALICE GARDNER. 'Heroes of the Nations' Series. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. 1895.

With the inclusion of Julian among the heroes of the nations, some may be disposed to quarrel. Not a few may be disposed to ask whether he was a hero at all; and if he was, of what nation was he the hero? Something of this sort seems to have been the feeling of Miss Gardner when she wrote in her preface, 'The responsibility of including Julian among the "Heroes of the Nations" rests with the editors of this series;' but be that as it may, and whether Julian deserves to be reckoned among national heroes or not, we have here what may fairly be spoken of as an excellent monograph on that remarkable man. Julian had undoubtedly great intentions, and so far as it is possible to judge, was apparently sincere both in respect to his convictions and in his desires to carry them out. In his own way, if fate had permitted, he would, there is little reason to doubt, have been heroic. To the consideration of the many questions Julian's life involves Miss Gardner has evidently brought an unprejudiced mind. That he has always proved to her a fascinating figure, she admits; but at the same time she is not overpowered by his fascination, and writes of him in a very judicial spirit. Her examination of his motives shows power of keen analysis, and her appreciation of the circumstances by which he was surrounded proves that she has a firm grasp of the period. The story of his life is full of incident, and is narrated by Miss Gardner clearly and with no attempt at eloquence beyond that of facts clothed in plain sensible English. Miss Gardner, however, does not confine herself merely to the narration of the story of his life: she enters largely into his philosophical and religious views, explains them at length, tries to account for them, and criticises them with considerable acuteness. That he was not without a large share of vanity is admitted, as well as that in his last campaign he did not prove himself a great general. Justice is done to his energetic efforts to correct abuses and to improve the condition of the people. Miss Gardner, however, is not certain that his edict concerning teachers and teaching was altogether anti-Christian. She is disposed to regard it as having a wider scope, and as aimed at the Pagan as well as at the Christian schools. The saying attributed to Julian as he fell mortally wounded, Miss Gardner sets down as mythical. The portions of the volume which will be read with the greatest interest are those which deal with Julian's philosophy and religious policy, and they will certainly well repay perusal. Whether Julian was a hero or not, there can be no doubt that the present volume is a notable addition to the series in which it appears.

Life and Letters of John Cairns, D.D., LL.D. By ALEXANDER R. MACEWEN, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1895.

Though somewhat voluminous, this biography has been compiled with great skill. The paragraphs contributed by Dr. MacEwen are brightly written. As a rule they summarise the contents of the letters which follow them, and set out the main incidents in the career of Principal Cairns with distinctness. The work is of considerable importance, and has a much more than merely biographical or denominational value. While strongly attached to his own church, Dr. Cairns was a genuine scholar, a profound thinker, a man of wide sympathies, respected and admired quite as much for his unselfish and noble character as for his attainments, and one whose influence made itself felt far beyond the limits of the ecclesiastical circle in which he was a principal figure. For many years he was known for the most part simply as the minister of Golden Square United Presbyterian Church, Berwick; but even while there, when he could be induced to step out from his privacy and take part in public or literary work,

he proved himself to be a power in Scotland, and one that had to be reckoned with in almost every movement that affected the religious or philosophical thought of the country. His early struggles are admirably told by Dr. MacEwen. His determination to make himself a scholar was almost fierce, and one of the pleasantest parts of his biographer's volume is that in which the difficulties he had to encounter and the way in which he overcame them are narrated. Dr. MacEwen does no more than justice to the old dominie of Cockburnspath, to whom Cairns owed his first inspiration. M'Gregor, for that was his name, was an excellent sample of a type of schoolmasters now almost passed away, wonderfully learned, somewhat eccentric, quick to discern ability in his pupils, and always fostering it in the most zealous and unselfish way. When Cairns came under his influence, he had already sent six or eight students direct to the Universities, where they more than held their own with town-bred undergraduates, and it is more than possible that but for his assistance, Cairns would never have made the appearance he did either at the University or in after life. Of Cairns' own career at College, Dr. MacEwen has given a very full account, but much more space than can here be occupied would be required to go over the various points of interest started in his volume. We can only add that for the religious history of Scotland during the last thirty or forty years, the work is of first-rate importance, that the picture it gives of Dr. Cairns is full and complete, and that the letters, of which there is a vast number, are always interesting, and often of great value, both as indicating the writer's attitude towards men, books, and controversies, and for the descriptions they contain of the individuals he met with and the places he saw.

Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde. By ARCHIBALD FORBES. ('Men of Action' Series). London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

This addition to Messrs. Macmillan's 'Men of Action' series will be welcomed both on account of its subject and the simple and graphic manner in which it is written. Few soldiers have had so large a hold upon the affections of the people and few have had so remarkable a career, or done more conspicuous service to the State. Blameless in his character, simple in his tastes, with a high ideal of duty, thoroughly unselfish, and caring only for the interests of his Queen and country, among the troops who knew him best, he was little short of idolised, and many are the stories they have to tell of the way in which he shared their privations and led them on to victory. In the preparation of this brief account of him Mr. Forbes has found a congenial subject. That he has written an attractive narrative need hardly be said. He carries the interest and sympathies of the reader along with him as he narrates the fortunes of one of the best and most skilful of modern commanders. His narrative is bright and picturesque, and few who begin the perusal of the volume will lay it down before they have read it through. Among the many excellent volumes of the series to which it belongs it can scarcely fail to be reckoned one of the best.

Studies of Men. By GEORGE W. SMALLEY. London: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

For the most part these 'Studies' have already appeared in the columns of the *New York Tribune*. The men studied are most of the leading char-

acters of the times or those who recently were. One thing that will strike most readers of the volume is that it will be searched in vain for any study of Mr. Gladstone. Much is said about him, in fact it is difficult to open the volume without meeting with his name or with some reference to him; but in all its four hundred pages no 'study' of him will be found. All the same the volume is acceptable. It contains sketches of the men about whom the public never seems to tire of hearing. Among them are Cardinal Newman, Lord Tennyson, Professor Tyndale, Mr. Froude, and Dr. Jowett, while among politicians we have Lord Rosebery, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Balfour, Lord Randolph Churchhill, and Lord Granville. Lord Salisbury is not included in the series, but among the rest are the late Duke of Devonshire, Mr. W. W. Phelps, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, President Carnot, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Mr. Jno. Walter, Mr. Winthorp, Lord Bowen, and the Emperor of Germany. The most elaborate sketch in the volume bears the title, a 'Visit to Prince Bismarck,' and originally appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*. Mr. Smalley has many remarks to make about the work and influence of the men he sketches, with which the reader may and may not agree. Many of them are founded on personal acquaintance, while others of them reflect the current opinion. That the 'Studies' are popularly and attractively written we need hardly say. They are full of anecdote, are always lively, and though here and there a little discursive, they are, if not exactly brilliant, always graphic and written in a genial and appreciative, though not uncritical spirit.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by Mr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. *Fanged-Fee.* (Vol. IV.) By HENRY BRADLEY, Hon. M.A., Oxon. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1895.

This is the first quarterly issue of this great work for the present year. The editor of it is Mr Bradley. It contains 879 main words, 179 combinations explained under them, and 187 subordinate words, or a total of 1263. Two hundred and twenty or nearly twenty-five per cent. of the main words are marked obsolete. Only twenty-seven or three per cent. of them are foreign or not fully naturalised. Scientific terms and other words of recent formation are almost entirely absent, while a large proportion of the words treated have a long history, having come down from the Old English period, or being such as were introduced into the language from the French before the fourteenth century. The development of senses in many of these words is of great interest, and attention is called to the articles under *fantastic, fantasy, farm, fascinate, fashion, fault, favour*, and other words. As usual, the etymologies show improvements on those of preceding dictionaries. That of the legal term *fee*, is an excellent example of what Dr. Murray and Mr. Bradley are doing in this department. Scottish words are fairly numerous. Among them we notice *fank, fankle, fard, faird, farl, farouchie, farrand, farrow, fary, fas, fash, fashions, fath, faugh, fax, fay, feal, fegart, feckless, feckly*. So far, indeed, the work promises to be a Scottish as well as an English Dictionary.

The Evolution of Industry. By HENRY DYER, C.E., M.A., D.Sc. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Professor Dyer here deals with a subject which is continually forcing itself more and more upon public attention, and is rapidly becoming, if it has not already become, as Goethe predicted it would, the main problem

of the day. Whether it has or has not, it certainly deserves the most careful consideration of all who are at all interested in the development of Society or even in the permanence of the present social order and its legitimate development. Properly speaking, indeed, the subject is of universal interest, and cannot be too carefully or too widely considered. Whether Professor Dyer's volume will contribute towards the right solution of the problems involved, we cannot of course venture to say. We have no hesitation in saying, however, that what he has said is fairly well calculated to do so. Accepting Hitze's statement that the problem of the day is to find a social organisation corresponding to the modern conditions of production, as the social organization of the Middle Ages corresponded with the simple conditions of production then existing, he endeavours to indicate the nature of what that solution must be. Practically, so far as we can make out, the solution suggested is a return to the principles of the Middle Ages adapted to the altered conditions of modern life. That, of course, is involved in the title Dr. Dyer has chosen for his volume, and is the idea involved in most writings of a similar nature. The difficulty, however, is not in the principles themselves, but in their adaptation. Here the reformer is met with complications of the most stubborn and perplexing kind. Professor Dyer is fully alive to their character, and discusses a number of the more important among them in a calm and judicial spirit. The greater part of his volume, however, is taken up with tracing the way in which the industrial problem has arrived at its present stage. His history, if history we may call it, of this evolution is necessarily brief, but he has seized upon the most salient points and set them out with admirable clearness. To those unacquainted, or but slightly acquainted, with the topics, the chapters in which he treats of Merchant and Craft Guilds, Individualism, Co-operation, and Industrial Training, will prove informing reading. Like most Socialists of whatever grade, and like many who lay no claim to be Socialists, Dr. Dyer has no sympathy with the modern tendency to the formation of huge monopolies. Their evils are pointed out and denounced. As an educationist of some standing and authority, the author's views on industrial training are deserving of respectful consideration. The ethical tone pervading the volume is healthy. Here and there some very admirable doctrines are dropped ; and it is scarcely possible to read what the author has to say without rising from it with wider and more hopeful views as to the future of the world.

Aspects of the Social Problem. By various Writers. Edited by Bernard Bosanquet. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1895.

The majority of the papers here put together have appeared in print before. Their publication in their present form, however, may be commended. The writers are all more or less experts in social problems, and write with full knowledge gained by actual observation. Most of the papers deal with the social question as it presents itself in London. That, however, is no objection. London is an immense field, and there, if any where, the various developments of social life make themselves conspicuous, and may be studied to advantage. The 'aspects' dealt with are numerous. The editor of the series leads off with two well considered lectures on the Duties of Citizenship, in which he places in sharp contrast the life of an ancient city with that of a large manufacturing town in the present, and shows how the conditions are different and the 'interests' indefinitely multiplied. It is scarcely accurate, however, to say that the 'slaves were to the Greeks what machinery, kept in its place, might be to

us.' They did a number of things which machinery does not and probably never will do, and which are now being done by modern citizens. Other contributions to the series by the editor are 'Character in its bearing on Social Causation,' 'Socialism and Natural Selection,' 'The Principle of Private Property,' and 'The Reality of the General Will.' Among the other papers may be noticed those from the pen of Mr. Dendy. All of them are exceedingly readable and informing. His acquaintance with the life of the London poor is remarkably intimate. 'Old Pensioners' is full of pathos, and in its way is the gem of the volume. Very sensible are his remarks on the method and meaning of true charity, and may be commended to all who believe they have a mission 'to do good.' Mr. Loch has some judicious remarks on statistics, and deals elaborately with pauperism and old age pensions as well as with some controverted points in the administration of the Poor Law. The volume deserves to be read widely, both for the information it contains and for its suggestiveness. It is calculated to do much towards solving what is admitted on all hands to be one of the problems of the day.

Social Evolution. By BENJAMIN KIDD. (Twelfth Thousand). London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Mr. Kidd's volume has been so widely read and so frequently criticised that its re-issue would not call for any remarks here were it not that it appears now in an altered form and at a less price. It is now placed within the reach of all who care to read it, and these must still, we imagine, be extremely numerous. No work of its kind has in recent times found so large a public. Its success indeed has been phenomenal. Within little more than a year it has been reprinted, as we gather from the Publisher's note, no fewer than ten times, and as we learn from the title page it is now in its twelfth thousand. The only differences between this new and cheaper edition and the earliest, excepting of course the size and price, are that we have here a brief preface pointing out the immense revolution which has taken place in consequence of the application of the doctrines of evolutionary science in all departments of thought and knowledge and the grave problems which are gradually emerging and the difficulties and dangers with which their solution may possibly be attended, and that a useful index has been added. The printing is excellent.

The Great Dominion: Studies of Canada. By GEORGE R. PARKIN, M.A. Maps. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

These 'Studies' first appeared as letters in the *Times*. Since then they have undergone very careful revision, and have been to some extent enlarged. They are the results of a couple of lengthened visits to Canada made for the purpose of ascertaining as far as possible what the resources, condition, and prospects of the country really are. In the prosecution of his task, Mr. Parkin has not relied upon his own impressions alone; he has had the assistance of some of the most competent authorities in the country, and many of his statements have been checked by them. As compared with Mr. Goldwin Smith's comparatively recent volume, Mr. Parkin's is on almost entirely different lines. Here the politics of the country are but slightly touched upon. The aim, as already indicated, is rather to give an account of its material resources and to furnish intending emigrants with reliable information. Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the volume is its candour. Mr. Parkin is quite as much alive to

the drawbacks of the different provinces as to the advantages they present, and does not scruple to set them out distinctly. Everywhere he manifests an earnest desire to get at the truth, and to present it to his readers. That Canada has an immense reserve of material resources, and affords an immense field for a large and industrious population, is put beyond doubt, and no one desiring to settle there need, with Mr. Parkin's volume in his hand, labour under any mistake as to where he ought or ought not to go. From beginning to end the volume is eminently readable and packed full of valuable and reliable information. The chapters descriptive of the various sections of the Dominion, together with those on the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the coal and mineral resources, are particularly deserving of attention, as well from an imperial as from an emigrant's point of view. Not less so are those on Trade, Labour, and Education. The volume is well provided with maps, and ought from its intrinsic merits to obtain a very wide circulation both among the working classes and among those who wish to be informed respecting the value and prospects of this great dependency of the British Crown.

Tayside Songs and other Verses. By ROBERT FORD. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1895.

Mr. Ford's 'Tayside Songs' have always the merit of being fluent, harmonious and informed with considerable spirit. For the most part they are happy expressions of cheerful memories or pleasant emotions. Now and then they assume the ballad form and one feels in them much of the lilt and animation which distinguish the work of the ballad makers of old. That there is much poetry either in the songs or the ballads we cannot say. Here and there, however, there is a genuine touch of the lyric feeling. The subjects chosen are for the most part lowly and the thoughts and feelings expressed are such as will find a responsive chord in the hearts of many. Mr. Ford is as a rule more successful with his Scottish poems than when he attempts to write in the less poetic English. His Scotch naturally lends itself to poetic numbers, and his skill in its use is commendable.

The Natural History of Aquatic Insects. By Professor L. C. MIALL, F.R.S. Illustrated by A. R. HAMMOND, F.L.S. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

In this excellent little volume Professor Miall, besides seeking to revive an interest in the works and writings of some of the old masters in Natural History, such, for instance, as Swammerdam, Reaumur, and De Geer, aims at inducing young naturalists to devote themselves to the study of nature's works as manifestations of life, rather than to classification and the study of distribution. These latter are certainly necessary, and have a certain charm. With a good memory and a very moderate ability for detecting likenesses and difference expertness in them is, moreover, easily attainable. Science, however, is more than classification, and Natural History is something more than a mere list of names. The real student of Natural History is above all things a student of life, its structures and developments, and the principles and laws by which they are controlled and on which they are formed. And until he has some knowledge of these he can scarcely be said to have any acquaintance with the real subject of his study. In reminding young naturalists of this, and in seeking to direct their attention to it, Professor Miall is doing them an important service. The line of study to which he specially directs their attention is

one that has many advantages. His treatment of it in the lectures before us is excellent. He writes clearly, simply, and with abundant knowledge and equal caution. His introductory chapter is one that may be enjoyed by those who are not naturalists. Not a few will be glad to meet with the extracts from Réaumur and Lyonnet. Professor Miall's own descriptions leave nothing to be desired in the way of perspicacity. The illustrations form a valuable feature of the book, and are deserving of great praise.

The Statesman's Year Book: Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the World for the year 1895. Edited by J. Scott Keltie, with the assistance of I. P. Renwick, M.A., LL.B. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Mr. Keltie's valuable Annual has reached its forty-second year, and as usual bears the marks of the most careful and painstaking editing. Every page shows that nothing has been left undone to make the revision as accurate as possible and to bring the statistics and information up to date. Comparison with 1894 shows how thoroughly the work of revision and preparation has been done, and one can only marvel at the skill which marshals in so orderly a way and makes so accessible and clear the vast amount of information which is here brought together from so many different sources. The *Year Book* indeed is a model of arrangement and condensation and has long since become an institution. The Introductory Tables this year are headed, 'The Value of Silver,' 'The Wheat Crops of the World,' 'The Navies of the World,' 'The World's Shipping,' 'The Railways of Europe,' 'The British Empire.' The first shows for the last thirty-seven years the yearly average price of silver per standard ounce, the nominal value of the silver coined in England, the value of the exports of silver to the East, and of the imports into England of bar and coined silver, together with other informations of a kindred nature. In the last there is exhibited at one view the area, population, revenue, expenditure, debt, imports, exports, shipping, etc., of the various parts of the British Empire for the year 1893-94. The world's wheat crop in 1894 is believed to have exceeded that of 1893 by over a million and a half bushels.

FICTION.

Mr. W. Earl Hodgson's *Haunted by Posterity* (A. and C. Black) moves about in various classes of society, and has its scene partly in London and partly in the Highlands. The story chiefly concerns the fortunes of Lady Emily Charlton and George Wayne. A certain Californian is introduced, who plays a considerable part in determining the fortunes of Lady Emily and Wayne, and affords an opportunity for writing some of the best chapters in story. The plot is slight; the dialogues are clever and smart, but here and there a little spun out. An ancestral ghost plays a very important part, and one of the chief interests in the plot is occasioned by the desire to see how he will comport himself. Though an ancestral ghost he is quite up to date, and is not above travelling by railway. Most of the characters are well drawn. The speakers, however, have a tendency to be long winded.

There are excellent points about Miss Helen P. Redden's *M'Lellan of M'Lellan* (Bliss, Sands, and Foster). The final chapters are better than the initial, and the evolution of the plot is somewhat slow. The work has evidently been done with care. If anything the details are too minute. The characters of the men are somewhat weak and the hero is not alto-

gether a hero. The secret of who he is is well kept, and the discovery comes with a surprise. The tone of the volume is all that can be desired, and with larger studies of the ways of men and of the world the writer may do excellent work.

By Adverse Winds (Oliphant & Anderson), the author of which is Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, is the story of the lives and sorrows of Robert Armitage, the son of an Edinburgh Professor, and Elsie Langton, who meet by accident for the first time in the streets of Edinburgh about the hour of midnight. Armitage, while well drawn, has his good as well as his weak points. Elsie is one of the brightest characters we have met with for some time, and Mr. Smeaton may be congratulated on the way in which he portrays her. The plot, so far as we know, is original and well contrived, though some of the incidents, while not impossible nor even improbable, seem to be a little unnatural. The catastrophe occurs in the middle of the work, but only deepens the interest. Mr. Smeaton writes well, has considerable insight into human nature, uses Lowland Scotch as if it were his native tongue, and puts it into the mouths of the right individuals. Notwithstanding a plethora of 'Adverse Winds' all comes right at last. The story deserves to be a success.

Our acknowledgments are due for the following:—*Bunyan Characters*, Third Series, by the Rev. A. Whyte, D.D.; (Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier); *Silver Wings*, by the Rev. A. G. Fleming (Oliphant); *Our Lord's Teaching*, by the Rev. James Robertson, D.D.; *The Religions of the World*, by the Rev. C. M. Grant, D.D.; *Landmarks in Church History*, by the Rev. Professor Cowan, 'Guild Text Book' series (A. and C. Black); *A Future Roman Empire*, by G. E. Farrier (Elliot Stock); *Saint and Devil*, by John Mark (Reeves); *The Spook Ballads*, by Wm. Theodere Parkes, illustrated (Simpkin, Marshall); *Ernest England, a Drama for the Closet*, by J. A. Parker, (Leadenhall Press); *Glossaries to S. R. Crockett's Works*, by Patrick Dudgeon (Fisher Unwin); *A Confession of Faith*, by An Unorthodox Believer (Macmillan); *Marjorie Dudingstone*, new edition, by W. F. Collier, LL.D.; (Oliphant); *My Ducats and My Daughter*, new edition, by P. H. Hunter and W. Whyte (Oliphant); *Rab Bethune's Double*, illustrated, by Edward Garrett (Oliphant); *Readings from Carlyle*, by Keith-Leask, M.A. (Blackie and Son); *Torch-Bearers of History*, volume II. From the Reformation to the Beginning of the French Revolution, by A. Hutcheson Stirling, M.A. (T. Nelson and Son); *The Gates of Eden*, Twenty-fifth Thousand, by Annie S. Swan (Oliphant).

THE

SCOTTISH REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1895.

Art. I.—THE INCHES OF THE FORTH.

WHEN the great Roman historian Cains Cornelius Tacitus, treating of his father-in-law's campaigns in Scotland, makes mention of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, he describes these estuaries as 'carried up an immense way by the tides of a different sea.' (*Nam Clota et Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per immensum revectae*).* Now, let any one take his stand upon one or other of the numerous vantage-points which present themselves in the capital of the North: say, the slopes of Arthur's Seat, the Calton Mount, the Castle, the Hills of Braid. Thence let his eye travel seaward from the church spires and smoking chimneys of Leith; and, on a clear day, he cannot fail to descry the outlines of a boldly cragged island, capped with a lighthouse. This islet, solitary and precipitous, rising sombre-hued out of the deep blue waters, and set about mid-way in the Bodotrian Channel, is Inchkeith. Never a very accessible spot, being out of the beat of the excursion steamers, few even of those long resident in Edinburgh seem to have visited or to know much about it. Yet the island is neither without interest nor unknown to history. Within the last three or four years its importance in a modern sense has largely grown, in that the place has passed

* *Cn. Jul. Agric. Vita*, XXIII.

from private hands into the possession of the Crown for defence purposes, and become a powerfully armed fortress; with a commodious new pier and many military additions, the details of which are not matter to be communicated to the public.

Geologically, the island is a huge mass of erupted basalt, similar to the cliffs of Edinburgh Castle, Salisbury Crag and the bold buttresses of the opposite Fife shore. But this trap is interspersed with three or four parallel bands of sedimentary rocks of the lower carboniferous series. These strata run mainly parallel with the longer axis of the island, and dip to the east north-east at a high angle. They include sandstone, limestone, shale, and a very thin seam of coal. The island is under a mile long, narrow in proportion, and covers some two and fifty acres exclusive of the foreshores. The summit is 183 feet above mean sea level, and the lighthouse top adds to this altitude another 50 feet.

In favourable weather, the views from Inchkeith on all sides are magnificent. To the southward, the Bass, the Law of North Berwick, and the long low line of the Haddington coast. Then the eye is carried round across the haze and towering pinnacles of the 'Maiden City' to the Pentlands, and up the broad expanse of the Firth now spanned by the colossal bridge which is one of the world's wonders. Northward, the richly wooded slopes of Fife, 'Saint Colme's Inch' and its outliers, Donibristle, Burntisland; round to Kinghorn, of fateful royal memory, and away past the 'lang toun' of Kirkcaldy to the point of Elie and the lonely scarped profile of May. Yet, what one feels most, planted in this wind-loved spot, is the sea-scape—the wide circling waste of waters, storm-tossed oftentimes, and ploughed aforetime by many a ship's prow of Roman, Northman, Englander. And in a north-easterly gale, or black biting 'haar,' the Firth can look gloomy indeed, well meriting the designation 'Murky Fiord' given it by Torfæus, the Norse historian (*sinum myrkvafiordum seu tenebricosum*). Round about the Inch are a number of outlying satellites: the 'Pallas Rock,' 'Briggs,' and the two 'Herwits.' At the extremity of the greater Herwit is a beacon light with automatic whistle, which emits a weird and melancholy

sound to a long distance, a moaning monotone of warning to all sea-craft coming hereaway day or night.

Inchkeith is not altogether devoid of archæological import. A generation back some vestiges of ancient human occupation of the island were discovered in the shape of what are known to experts as 'Kitchen Middens.' These objects are simply accumulations of the rude food-leavings of the primitive inhabitants, whoever they were, located in former times in the island: refuse heaps made up of animal bones and the shells of testacea which had served for human victual. One such midden was discovered in 1870 near the old landing jetty, at the foot of the slope or *talus* lying between the cliff and the beach, where the talus had been washed or worn away so as to leave an exposed section. Here bones were seen protruding from the soil, and there was abundance of edible mollusc shells. Some of the bones had been split (doubtless to get at the marrow), and a few bore marks of fire. They included the osseous remains of the ox, sheep, pig, horse, rabbit and of the grey seal,* once common to the Firth of Forth, but now I believe extinct there. This 'midden' relic was judged to be of considerable antiquity. It has now disappeared. Another well-marked specimen of the same class of objects is visible in a section of ground laid bare in forming the ditch (foss) of one of the modern batteries. Here, again, empty shells and animal remains, bones, etc., are apparent. The shells predominate and are seen matted close in a seam, over a foot thick, tapering to nothing, covered by a natural layer of turf which has accumulated in the lapse of time to a maximum depth of eighteen inches. The depth of this overlying soil is of course a comparative index to the age of the midden, and may mean, at the generally slow rate of growth of such superposits, the gradual accretion of many centuries. Thus we have in these deposits the leaves of a book, plainly revealing to us their record of long by-gone sojourners in this little sequestered island. I may add that Mr. Joseph Anderson, LL.D., the learned secretary of the Scottish Antiquarian Society, to whom in October, 1893, I showed the midden

* See a paper by Mr. D. Grieve, F.S.A. Scot., the finder, in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, Vol. IX., 1872.

last described, pronounced it to be, like the other, a genuine and good example of its class. And I rather think I may claim it as a new 'find,' or, at all events, one hitherto undescribed.

Now let us glance at the historical gleanings to be picked up concerning the Inchkeith of yore. Its strategical importance as a place of outlook and challenge to vessels passing up or down the Firth, and those anchored in the neighbouring roadstead, must naturally have been apparent from the earliest times. Whether Julius Agricola in any of his northern expeditions made any military use of this island is not told to us. We know this much, however, that in the summer of his sixth year of office as Governor of Britain, when carrying his arms into Caledonia to the north of the Forth-Clyde line of defence, this great viceroy utilised his fleet to explore the harbours along the coast.*

Coming on to a later epoch, that of the pioneer Christian Saints of Scotland, we hear something of Inchkeith from the early chronicler, John of Fordun. On this island, says he, the sainted Abbot Adamnan, biographer of the illustrious Columba, sojourned for a season, and here this holy disciple of the great Apostle of the West received certain stranger missionary brethren of the faith, to wit, St. Serf and his followers, on their first arrival in eastern Scotland. When the two holy *patres* met in the little islet, St. Serf enquired of his host, 'How shall I dispose of my family and my companions?' (*Quomodo disponam familiæ et sociis meis?*) To this Adamnan made answer: 'They shall dwell in the land of Fife and from the Mountain of the Britons even to the Mount which is called Okhel.'† Such an incident as this would be more impressive if we were assured of its authenticity, but unfortunately the chronologies of the early Saints are so mixed that it is often impossible to harmonise the diverse accounts of their biographers. In this case, it has been pointed out that the two saints, Serf and Adamnan, were not contemporaries: consequently there must be some confusion of

* *Amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas . . . portus classe exploravit.* Agric. Vit., xxv. Tacitus.

† Life of St. Serf in W. F. Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 416. (Mentioned in Stuart's *Records of Priory of May.* lxxii.)

persons in the narrative. It has been thought, however, not improbable that an oratory or hermitage dedicated to St. Adamnan may have existed on Inchkeith, analogous to the primitive cell on the neighbouring island of Inchcolm, sacred to Columba.

Passing by the era of viking and foreign marauders from many a land afar, we light upon firmer historic ground by the time we approach the middle of the 16th century.

The fifth decade of this century was a most disastrous one for Scotland. The close of James V.'s reign had been embittered by the defeat of his forces near the Border, and a bare year and a half had passed since the King's death, when war was again proclaimed, and Seymour, Earl of Hertford, appeared (A.D. 1544) in the Firth of Forth with a fleet of invading transports. Edinburgh (says Burton) was set on fire, and 'the beautiful town blazed for three days and nights.' Leith, many Fife Burghs, and then the country southward towards England, were wasted and ravaged after the usual remorseless wont, and 'Ancrum Moor ran red with gore.' To get a notion of the savage animosity of Henry at this time against the Scots, we have only to study the orders of the English Privy Council issued on 10th April, 1544, to Hertford. The Earl is to make an inroad into Scotland 'to put all to fire and sword, to burn Edinburgh Town, and to raze and deface it when you have sacked it and gotten what you can of it. . . . Sack Holyrood House, and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye conveniently can: sack Leith, and burn and subvert it and all the rest, putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword, without exception, when any resistance shall be made against you.' * Next year, again, under the orders of the great Harry, in furtherance of his vindictive crusade against the Church, the dreaded commander reappears, and proceeds to harass and pillage the religious houses of the border counties. Two years more and yet a third invasion of Scottish territory by the Southron ensues, under the same

* John Hill Burton considers we may trace the hand of the King himself in the drafting of these ferocious orders. *Hist. of Scotland*, Vol. III., p. 233.

generalissimo, now Duke of Somerset, and practically ruler of England in the minority of Royal Edward. This time the tactics of his Roman predecessor, Agricola, were reproduced; in that a double force, one dispatched by land and the other by sea, co-operated and combined at Musselburgh. The slaughter and collapse of the Scots at Pinkie were the result. Then came a reinforcement by French troops and the removal of the child-Queen, Mary Stuart, to the safer and more congenial soil of France.

Such was the state of matters, when the Island of Inchkeith comes for a moment on the stage with a certain dramatic force. Its advantageous situation had not escaped the invader's notice. Fortifications were about this time constructed on the Isle, and the place was garrisoned by the English with a considerable force, which included a contingent of Italian mercenaries in their pay. This garrison was a serious annoyance to the shipping navigating the Firth. But, meanwhile, M. d'Essé, the French Commander,* on behalf of the allied Scots and French, had pushed on with his defences at Leith. So, it fell out that, on Corpus Christi Day, A.D. 1549, at day-break, the Franco-Scottish soldiers set out for Inchkeith from the Leith shore, in presence of the Queen Mother, Mary of Lorraine: and, after a severe fight, in which the English Commandant with some 300 of his men were slain, the place surrendered. Thereafter, the French held the island on behalf of the Queen Dowager till her death in 1560.†

In the course of recent military duty, the present writer had frequently to visit Inchkeith, and the following personal notes represent the condition of the remnant of the old fortress as late as the beginning of 1894. The early fortifications of the island are still existent along the eastern side, and the walls in fair preservation, though ruinous in places. Their exterior is neatly

* André de Montalembert, seigneur d'Essé en Angoumois, etc., etc.

† See *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, by the late Sir Daniel Wilson, (Vol. I.), 1848. The author appears to have considered the old walls still visible to be identical with the fortifications erected by the English in or before 1549. But, according to Mr. Mylne, the walled fort was not completed till 1564.

faced with solidly jointed masonry some four feet in thickness, the mortar of which is, like so many of these ancient cements, extremely hard and most difficult to break with the pick. The work was a bastioned one, and the ramparts followed very closely the edge of the steep rocky summit-plateau of the island. A very interesting plan of this 16th century fort as it existed in 1778 was mapped by Mr. Robert Mylne, F.R.S.* This plan shows the full trace of the fortress, its principal gateway in the northern face, the sally-port, guard-house, and officers' quarters, with the positions for pieces of ordnance in the bastion flanks. The ancient memorial escutcheon, a stone slab, which is now built into a modern archway admitting to the lighthouse offices, was apparently fixed, when Mr. Robert Mylne made his plan, in the wall of the north-east bastion now demolished. This scutcheon displays the Scottish lion rampant supported by a unicorn on either side and surmounted by a coronal of the national type. Under the shield the date 1564 is embossed, but the portion of the Royal arms with the lettering 'Maria Reg.' (mentioned by Rev. Scott Mylne) has disappeared. The area of the old fort must have covered pretty much the site of the present lighthouse enclosure.

Concerning such an out-of-the-way nook as this isle of Inchkeith, every little scrap of history connecting it in former times with the mainland and the Scottish capital, is of interest. Now, in 1557, it would seem that a certain 'Johnne Roytell, Franchemanne' (as he is styled in a Council minute of the Burgh of Edinburgh) † was appointed for life Principal Master Mason in Scotland. Furthermore, at the request of the Prior of Holyrood, the same Roytell had seven years before been made a Burgess of Edinburgh. 'We may perhaps,' says Mr. Scott Mylne, 'connect Roytell's name with the fortification of the Island of Inchkeith by the French, the order for which was given while Mary was yet in France: while the work was completed in 1564. The fort was afterwards by agreement dismantled.' Another curious

* And is given in the *Master-Masons to the Crown of Scotland*, by Rev. R. Scott Mylne—1893.

† *Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, edited by J. D. Marwick, 1875.

item in the *Burgh Records* connects the Island with 16th century quarantine regulations. On 11th August, 1564, the Town Council of Edinburgh ordain the setting of a watch at Newhaven and the pier and shore of *Leyth*, both 'night and day, for keeping of the people suspect of the pest within their ships.' A fortnight after the establishment of this quarantine, we have this further Minute of Council. 'The baillies and Council foresaid, after avisement with the Queen's Majesty, writing granted in favour of the ships to *lose* (unload) their goods upon the inches, appoints the ships of James Logan, Thomas Symsoun, Scott of the Wemys, Litiljhoun and Blyth to *Inchekeyth*. . . .' No joke indeed for these unlucky skippers, to have to discharge cargo on this rockbound islet, wharfless and harbourless, and then re-ship to the mainland when the embargo was over!

An incident associating Inchkeith with a year fateful to Mary Stuart may not unfittingly close the account of this island. In 1567, we have a record of its French Commandant, who is styled 'le Capitain d'Inchkeith,' and who, as an eye-witness of them, wrote a narrative of the momentous events which took place between the 7th and 15th June, 1567.* These events, it hardly needs to say, culminated in the meeting of the Queen and her new-wed Consort, Bothwell, with the Confederate Lords on Carberry Hill, and in Mary's surrender to the latter, which for her was the beginning of the end!

Before passing to Inchcolm, we may take note of another little islet situated in the upper waters of the Bodotrian Firth, Inchgarvie. Not that there is much to tell about it. But the march of modern engineering science has been the means of bringing this diminutive rock prominently under the eye of thousands of the travelling public, who might never otherwise have known of its existence. The island was purchased, I believe, within recent years for a handsome sum from the proprietor (Dundas of Dundas) by the promoters of the Forth Bridge, and the central pier of that Titanic structure rests upon the adaman-

* 'Récit des Evénements du 7 au 15 Juin, 1567, par le Capitain d'Inchkeith,' printed by Teulet II., 300. (See J. H. Burton's *History of Scotland*, Vol. IV., p. 248).

tine foundation of the living rock of which the island is composed, the compact igneous trapstone of the locality. The Inch of Garvie, in fact, is simply a bare rugged lump of hard mineral without a vestige of vegetation on it, and before the bridge was projected, its market value must have been next to nothing. Looking down out of window from the railway train as it rumbles along the elevated alley which, perched high aloft, traverses the waters of the estuary, one sees this long, narrow, sombre rock-ridge, and upon it an old square tower with some minor buildings abutting against it. On the top of this tower are a staging and a small turret or receptacle to carry a light for navigating purposes.

This old tower represents the remains of a castle or fortalice erected here towards the close of the 15th century. In Mr. Mylne's treatise on the Scottish Mastermasons already cited, a quaint and apparently antique drawing is given of the 'old Fortress on Inchgarvie Rock,' as it was A.D. 1491; but the source of the illustration is not stated. It depicts two crenellated square towers with outlying ramparts.

The Charter of License to build this Castle was granted by King James IV. to John Dundas, Laird of Dundas (1490-91), and its terms are so curious and instructive as to the style of old fortresses of this period, that I shall quote an extract from it modernised.

'James, by the grace of God King of Scots, to all his worthy men to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Know ye that with advice of the Lords of our Council, we have granted and by the tenour of these presents do grant to our beloved familiar esquire, John Dundas of that ilk and his heirs, full power, free faculty, and our special license, to found, edify, and build, a castle or fortalice, upon his rock called *Inchgarde* lying in the water of Forth, between the passage of the Queen's ferries, as shall seem to him most expedient: encompassing the said castle or fortalice with stone walls, and fortifying, strengthening, and defending it with moats, irongates, drawbridges, *tumlars*, portcullises, battlements, machicolations, crenelles, and *skowlares*; and with all other and sundry munitions and defences, which can be planned or constructed upon the said Rock; and raising it and finishing it on high, and preparing machines on the summit thereof, and adorning it with warlike and defensive ornaments; also appointing in the said castle or fortalice a constable, keeper of the prisons, wardens, guards, porters, and other officers necessary.'*

* *Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland*, p. 11.

This Charter also gave Dundas license to exact the customary fees, whatever these might be: possibly a toll on vessels passing up or down the waterway; or perhaps an impost on those using or plying at the Queen's ferries hard by. In any case, it is obvious that this insulated rock and its stronghold held a position of vantage planted here about mid-way in a narrow strait of the estuary, and commanding the great highway route from north-eastern Scotland to the capital. Moreover the Castle would probably serve to keep in check to some extent the hordes of piratical marauders, who at this time, and for long after, were wont to infest the Firth of Forth, to the jeopardy of its legitimate traders, and to the deadly peril of the unfortunate inhabitants located along its shores.

We have seen that though the island of Inchkeith is secluded, and comparatively inaccessible, it is nevertheless, by reason of its situation, well under the eye of sojourners in the Scottish capital and its vicinity. Of its neighbour, St. Colm's Isle, the same cannot be said, inasmuch as this little green-clad rock lies close in under the north shore of the Firth, and is not easily distinguishable until you approach it on shipboard, or view it from the prettily wooded Fife shore near Aberdour. But that Inchcolm is the cynosure of the Bodotrian islands, in respect of historical and archæological interest, is beyond dispute. For it possesses actual remains which carry us back into very early Christian times; back *certainly* well-nigh eight centuries, and in all probability some centuries earlier still. Inchcolm is indeed the Hy-Colmkil of eastern Scotland. And what Iona came to be to the Western Highlands, a shrine sacrosanct and a revered resting-place for the great departed, such, though perhaps in a lesser degree, was Inchcolm in the estuary of the Forth to the men of renown in Lothian and the eastern parts of Caledonia.

There is something suggestive and spirit-soothing, even to us moderns, in the solitude and retirement of most diminutive islets of the sea. One feels a sense of aloofness from the turmoil of the world: the beats of time seem to move slower: the environment lends itself more naturally somehow to meditation and a devotional attitude. This is why the monks and hermits of old so often found their way to islands, where, in some sequestered

cave or cell, they could compose themselves, without fear of disturbance, to prayer and abstinence, and detachment of the soul. 'When a man' says Johnson, 'retires into an island, he is to turn his thoughts entirely to another world. He has done with this.' In this spirit the anchorites of the West secluded themselves in many a surge-dashed retreat;—as Iona, Lismore, Sanda, Eilean Naomh, Eilean Mor, the Sainted Kilda—remote spots far indeed from the world's rout and roar. On the western seaboard the choice of such insulated domiciles was practically unlimited. But along the coast line of Albion, washed by the North Sea, the number is very small. From Duncansby to Thanet a count on the fingers exhausts them. And of these isles—not forgetting holy Lindisfarne—all or nearly so are situated in or about the spacious Firth—the 'Scots Water' of olden time—which laves the portal of Scotia's premier city. And when we consider the fine central position of this estuary and its great facilities of water transport for reaching the different mainland regions of missionising enterprise, we need not wonder that the primitive *réligieux* have left their names and vestiges in the islands of May, the Bass, Fidra, Cramond, and the two greater Inches of the Forth.

There is early record of the island of Inchcolm. In an ancient chronicle of the 14th century it is named Æmonia *quam quondam incoluit dum Pictis et Scotis fidem praedicavit Sanctus Columba Abbas.* In this place-name, Æmonia or Emona, a resemblance has been suggested to certain names of other islands, e.g., *Mona* (Isle of Man), Po-*mona* (Orkney), I-*ona*, Cra-*mond*. The point is a nice one, and may be left to the topographical philologists.

If the early accounts are to be accepted, we may conclude that the *Culdees* or primitive Christians of the Columban era established a seat or centre of their cult at Inchcolm about the close of the 6th century. And here, it would seem, the little primitive community of ecclesiastics, whatever it was, which settled in the island, held on its way in comparative quietude, preaching the faith for two or three hundred years, till the terrible incursions of the piratical Norsemen, which in the 9th century carried fire, sword, and havoc into so many churches and

homesteads of Scotland, and which devastated the western sanctuary of St. Columba equally with his Bodotrian shrine.

Leaving behind us this dismal epoch of rapine, we pass the thousandth year of the Christian era, and reach a period of Scottish history as to which the old chronicler Holinshed throws a sidelight upon our little island of the Forth. The incident related may partake more or less of the legendary or traditional lore, from which the earlier historians so freely drew their materials, but it is none the less interesting. The narrator is recounting the defeat by Macbeth and Banquo of an expedition dispatched to the Forth by King Cnut the Dane, conqueror of England: and here we find the tale of which the immortal playwright has given us the echo. 'They' (the Danes) 'that escaped and got over to their ships obtained of Macbeth for a great sum of gold that such of their friends as were slaine at the last bickering might be buried in St. Colme's Inch. In memorie whereof manie old sepultures are yet in the said Inch there to be seen graven with the armes of the Danes.' Now compare Shakespeare's adaptation of the story, where Ross tells King Duncan,

> 'That now
> Sweno, the Norway's King, craves composition;
> Nor would we deign him burial of his men
> Till he disbursed at Saint Colme's inch
> Ten thousand dollars to our general use.'

But before proceeding further with the history of this veritable 'Holy Isle,' steeped as it is with Christian tradition, I must take the reader with me to the consecrated spot itself and describe the actual relics still to be seen there. It was the writer's good fortune quite recently, when steaming up and down the Firth and examining its beautiful shores for official purposes, to be able twice or thrice to land on Inchcolm. These occasions gave the opportunity of thoroughly exploring the island as well as the highly interesting ruins it contains, which last, besides adding to its picturesqueness, virtually constitute its history. First, then, for the ruins. These include the remains of a 13th century Abbey Church, and a small stone oratory or chapel (capellula) obviously of far higher antiquity. Both structures are

Christian in character; but it is essential to a right understanding of the place and its archæological significance, not to confound the two objects, nor to class them together as though they belonged to the same date or bore any similarity of architectural features. The oratory has been most minutely and learnedly discussed in a paper of date 1857* by the late Sir James Simpson. The later mediæval building and its history form the subject of a very able and elaborate monograph by Mr. Thomas Arnold of the Institute of British Architects, illustrated with plans, and contributed to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries in 1869.† From both sources I have necessarily drawn considerably in the present remarks.

The first thing a visitor to Inchcolm, who is acquainted with Iona, cannot fail to note is the remarkable resemblance of their two abbatial churches. To the eye viewing the ruins in each case, the grouping of the buildings is singularly alike. The same antique type of square tower, the same chevron line marking where the gable of an adjunct building abutted upon one of its faces. This similitude is a point emphasised by Simpson. 'The tower of the church of Inchcolm,' he observes, 'is so similar in its architectural form and details to that of Icolmkil, that it is evidently a structure nearly, if not entirely, of the same age.' Now, the late Bishop Reeves, a very high authority, referred the well known ruined church at Iona to the early part of the thirteenth century, and Sir James Simpson inclines to place the foundation of the Inchcolm church at about the same date. But, as in so many of our cathedrals and more important churches elsewhere, the style of the buildings at St. Colme's Inch is composite and transitional, showing various additions and re-constructions during the interval between its commencement and its extinction on the eve of the Reformation. As we shall see presently, the inauguration of the Augustinian monastery, which succeeded the earlier ecclesiastical settlement in the little island, appears to have been due to Alexander I. of Scotland, and would thus carry us back to the first quarter of the twelfth century.

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* *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* Vol. II., p- 481.

† *Archæologica Scotica.* Vol. V., Pt. 1, 1873.

But the original foundation at Inchcolm of the monastic community, which was to be domiciled here for over four hundred years, does not necessarily infer the synchronous erection of any part of the present Abbey Church.

The actual remains of the ancient Abbey of Inchcolm, which have survived the ravages of time and decay, include both the church and the conventual domiciliary buildings. Of the former little more is left than the fine old tower and the Lady Chapel. Next the tower a small transept and a portion of the nave are still standing, and to the north of them, again, is the remnant of some detached accessory buildings. But the rest of the nave, the choir, the chancel, and the north-east transept which we should look for to correspond in position with the Lady Chapel, have disappeared; so that to the non-expert it is most difficult to trace the place out on the ground. An overhanging fragment of the vaulted roof of the Lady Chapel is a conspicuous object, and it speaks well for the excellence of the cement which binds it that this arch has held together in unstable equilibrium so long. One sees at once where the altar of our Lady stood, and notes the niche and piscina which served it. The Chapter-house of the usual octagonal shape and handsomely buttressed, is a veritable gem of its kind. Simpson calls it one of the most beautiful and perfect in Scotland. In the interior the roof-groining, and the doorway circular-headed and shafted, are fine distinctive features. A narrow stone bench circuits the wall of the chamber, except on two sides where the space is filled up by a triplet of *sedilia*, and opposite to them the single doorway above-mentioned, opening into the ambulatory of the cloister. Mr. Arnold considers the three stone sedilia were designed for the Abbot, Prior, and Sub-Prior of the monastery; and we can picture to ourselves these dignitaries on state occasions, seated in their stalls in solemn conclave, with a row of friars around them. According to the same authority, this little—but, as he says, 'well-proportioned and beautiful'—chapter-house is probably the smallest in Britain. In a storey built over it is supposed to have been situated the Muniment Room of the Abbey, and to it, doubtless, the learned Abbot Walter Bower, writer of Scottish history, must have had frequent resort. Indeed, it has been sug-

gested as probable that this erudite prelate added the chamber himself to serve as *scriptorium*, library, and store-room for MSS.

The domestic buildings were arranged, as customarily, in a square with a covered way on three sides enclosing a cloister court, the dormitories and refectory occupying an upper storey along the south and east faces. The present dwelling-house occupied by a farm tenant represents the refectory, cellarage, and other offices, of which last we can identify the old kitchen and bakery. There are traces also of what was probably the Abbot's domicile, and possibly a Guest-house. The latter would of course in mediæval times often be in requisition: for to an ecclesiastical seat of such repute, and so near the Lothian shore, many a distinguished stranger and pilgrim would repair on affairs of business or piety, and crave for a night or two the Abbey's hospitality.

The narrowness of the nave of Inchcolm church has been remarked upon. This is a feature, however, common to very many of the earlier coast-wise churches in the remote parts of Scotland, Western England, and Ireland: and was doubtless due to the difficulty and cost of transporting to insular and out-of-the-way places materials for wide-spanned roofs.* Mr. Arnold notices a further peculiarity, in that the length of the choir of this church is excessive in proportion to the length of the nave: and accounts for this by the supposition that, as there could have been no outside congregation here, little more was wanted than a choir large enough to seat the brethren. Yet it seems fair to surmise that many of the country-folk of the Fife mainland would, on occasions—during the summer season more especially—ferry themselves across the narrow strait, which separates the little islet from the Aberdour shore, on high days, vigils, and the greater feasts, to worship in this sainted fane.

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* In reviewing a work on Scottish antiquities by the present writer *The Athenæum* adduces certain ancient chapels on the Welsh and Cornish coasts in which 'the length of the building is out of all proportion to the width. . . . The width of the buildings was of course limited by the opportunities for roofing them; and where, as generally on the coast, no long timbers were obtainable, the constructors had to be satisfied with narrow structures.'—*Athenæum* of 2nd August, 1873.

From the monks' dormitory above the eastern ambulatory a stairway descended into the church. This, we are told, was for the use of the confraternity when attending night services. The dormitory had also a squint or eyelet-aperture in its wall giving a view of the high altar to any of the cenobites unable, from infirmity or other cause, to leave this portion of the building during celebrations in the church.

The fine tower, which is the dominant feature in the Abbey ruins, was of four storeys and corbelled atop. It probably had a peal of bells, seeing that bells are named among the multifarious spoils carried off from Inchcolm by the English in one of their fourteenth century raids. The window openings in the refectory are very deeply recessed, and from within one of them, according to local tradition, a brother diurnally read out to his companions, while they sat at meat, the lessons or offices of the day.

The precincts and immediate vicinity of the church doubtless served for centuries as a burial-place. I was told early in 1894 by the then tenant, caretaker of the ruins, that he had come across quantities of human bones—femur, knee, tibia, and a skull —lying about the area once covered by the choir, but now bare and unenclosed. In the chapter-house there were found a fragment of a memorial cross carved with a pattern of Irish fretwork, and an ancient tombstone rudely sculptured.

Such, then, is a brief description of the existing remains of a monastic establishment and church of the Middle Ages secluded in this little island. Altogether, they form a distinctive, typical, and highly interesting study to the student of the past.

A word, now, as to the topography of the island. Its shape, mapped or in bird's-eye view, is made up of two unequal wings united by a neck or isthmus only a few yards wide, so that the island is almost divided into two. On the south side of this narrow neck is a charmingly pretty bay with shingly strand, the waters of which at high tide literally wash the old Abbey walls. On the northern side is the landing-place, a narrow creek or rock-bound inlet admirably sheltered in all weathers. The island is simply a protruded lump of dark igneous rock clad with a scant coating of herbage. Overhanging one side of the landing cove

is a bold striking mass of columnar trap upreared like the pillars of Salisbury Crag. One of these columns, seen in profile from a particular spot on the adjoining knoll, has a remarkable resemblance to a human face, as of a skull-capped ancient of truculent aspect. Pictorially, the rich green tints of the perennially verdant pasture contrast harmoniously with the red-bistre of the outcropping volcanic rock. Two or three patches of scrub bush, and the gardens of the farmhouse, are all the arboreal ornament to be seen. Centre-wise in this setting place the old-world pile with its crumbling walls; encircle the whole with the ever-restless gleaming sea broken here and there by a reef or skerry; fill up the background with bold hill-ranges, distant urban smoke haze, green slopes; westward two or three miles away imagine the enormous yet graceful iron structure of piers and laced arches which bridges the estuary; and you have before you the *coup d'œil* which presents itself from the higher points of St. Columba's Inch.

Immediately around the island are a number of detached skerries: the 'Haystack,' Middens, Car Craig, and Craig Swallow. The north passage between the island and mainland is quite narrow, about half a mile across, and encroaching on its fairway channel is a dangerous reef, named Maydulse (or Meadulse). This reef is visible at low water, but at high tide nothing of it is to be seen. A large vessel not long ago went aground here, and we shall presently note an incident of mediæval tradition not improbably connected with the spot. Then, stretching across towards Granton, may be seen nearly in a line the Oxcars Light, Mickery Stone (Cow and Calves), a small pointed skerry generally alive with gulls and cormorants, and Inch Mickery, an outlier of Cramond.

Having, then, tried to picture to the reader the aspect and entourage of the ancient Abbey of Inchcolm, I return to its history.

We have noted that King Alexander is to be regarded as the virtual inaugurator, early in the 12th century, of the Inchcolm fraternity of Augustinian black monks, or 'Austin friars,' as this Order was also named. The account given in the *Scotichronicon* of how this came about is very

quaint and suggestive, whatsoever may be its legendary leaven. The narative is *De fundatione monasterii canonicorum de Scona, et Sancti Columbae de Aemonia*, and thus it runs—

'About the year of our Lord 1123, not less miraculously than wonderfully, was founded the monastery of St. Columba, of the island of Aemona, near Inverkeithin. When the noble and most Christian King, Lord Alexander, first of that name, upon certain business of state, was crossing the Queen's Ferry, he was overtaken by a fierce tempest blowing from the south, so that the mariners were compelled to make for the island of Aemonia, where there lived a solitary hermit, who devoted himself to the service or rule of St. Columba, living in a *cell*, and supporting himself on the milk of a cow, and the shellfish which he collected on the shore. On these things the King and his companions subsisted for three days, during which they were detained by the storm.

But when in the greatest peril of the sea and the raging tempest fearing and despairing for their lives, the king made a vow to the Saint, that if he would bring them safe to that island, he (Alexander) would there found a monastery to his honour, which would become an asylum and refuge for seafarers and the shipwrecked.

Thus it came to pass that he there founded a monastery of monks, such as exists at present (15th century), both because he had always from his youth venerated St. Columba with special honour, and also because his parents were long deprived of the comfort of a child, until by devoutly supplicating this Saint, they gloriously obtained what they had so long earnestly desired.'*

The 'cell,' as Sir J. Simpson remarks, was doubtless the 'sacellum' and 'capellula' of Hector Boece's account, which relic, already referred to, still exists on the island, and will be described more particularly further on.

It will be remembered that we saw reason to refer to the early part of the 13th century the actual erection of any sub-

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* *Scotichronicon*, Lib. V., ch. 37. I have practically adopted Mr. Arnold's version of the story.

This ancient chronicle of Scottish history represents writings by John of Fordun near the end of the 14th century, with large additions by Walter Bower, who was elected Abbot of Inchcolm in 1418. Simpson draws attention to the fact that Abbot Bower credits himself with the authorship of no less than 11 out of the 16 books of the *Scotichronicon*. Thus, the above picturesque story of the inception of the Abbey would have the advantage of his own personal knowledge of the island. According to Burton, Fordun wrote the chronicle to the middle of the 11th century, while Bower carried it on to midway in the 15th century.

stantial portion of the existing Abbey church and its adjacent buildings. Now, sometime about this period, a member of the house of Mortimer appears to have espoused the daughter and heiress of a Sir John de Vypont, and to have thus acquired the lordship of Aberdour. By the middle of the 13th century, the third Alexander was sovereign of Scotland, and it was in his time that we find record of a later Mortimer, Alan by name ('Alan de Mortuo Mari,') assigning part of his lands of *Abirdaur* in exchange for the right of burial for himself and his posterity at Inchcolm. And this portion of the Aberdour realty afterwards passed into the hands of the Douglases, Earls of Morton. Such a transaction serves to illustrate the sanctity of this insular spot, and how highly prized were the privileges of sepulture therein.

In his *History of Fife*, Sir R. Sibbald notices a curious tradition touching this Alan de Mortimer. When his corpse, encased in a leaden coffin, was being conveyed over from the mainland to the Inch for burial in the Abbey church, it was cast overboard into the outlying Sound by certain reprobate monks. And from this circumstance the Sound took the name of 'Mortimer's Deep.' A reference to the Ordnance map will show that this place-name, applied to the passage between Meadulse reef and Braefoot Bay, still survives.

By the second half of the 13th century, we begin to hear of additions to the fabric of Inchcolm church; for, in 1265, (according to the *Scotichronicon*), Robert, Bishop of Dunkeld, built a new choir to it. After this prelate's death, says Father Hay, his body was buried in Dunkeld Cathedral, but his heart was laid in the north wall of the choir of St. Colme, which he had erected. Several of the pre-Reformation bishops of Dunkeld appear to have been interred at Inchcolm, instead of at their own episcopal seat, for some reason which is not quite clear. Possibly, it came about from predilection of the individuals, or because the little Bodotrian islet was esteemed a place of even greater sanctity than the venerable sanctuary on the Tay.

The fourth decade of the 14th century was a stormy and troublesome one for Scotland. David II. still in his boyhood;

Edward Baliol struggling to oust him from the throne; the fierce fight at Halidon Hill; Berwick and other strongholds yielded up to the English;—such are the leading events which bring us close up to A.D. 1335, a memorable year in the annals of the Inchcolm brotherhood. For, we read in an ancient record how, in a marauding expedition this year, an English fleet of 180 ships harried all the neighbourhood of the Firth. How it fell on a day that 'these Pagan folk' landed on the island, spoiled the holy place, and made off with great store of booty; to wit, chalices, 'crowat,' censers, 'corsis,' candlesticks, and many more relics of fine silver; books and bells; vestments of 'birneist' silk and gold. How, at the departing of the ships, uprose a tempest, which sore damaged them, and drowned the sacrilegious perpetrators of the outrage. And how the residue of the plundering Armada got respite on vowing to St. Columba that the spoil should be returned; whereupon the storm ceased!* Verily here was a kind of resuscitation of the raids of vikings in Culdee days.

But the hazards and anxieties of our island community were only beginning. The very next year (1336) brought the Augustinian canons more nefarious visitors. Scot and Southron were still at strife, and another array of English Edward's warships were at work ravaging the shores of Fife. From this flotilla is detached a single vessel, which swoops down on the defenceless monks of the sainted Inch. Again the Abbey church is despoiled, the marauders this time carrying off a beautiful carved wainscot (probably a reredos) from the choir. But the vengeance of St. Columba overtakes them, the ship suddenly sinks like lead, and every soul on board is lost. It seems not unreasonable to conjecture that this story may represent a real incident, in which a hostile vessel after plundering the Abbey struck on some adjacent shoal or skerry, possibly the Maydulse reef, and went to the bottom. Near fifty years later, much the same tale of rapine and violence at the expense of the luckless monastery is repeated. For, about 1384-5, the fleet of King Richard II., then at war with the

* *Buik of the Chronicles of Scotland*—written *circa* 1531-5, a metrical version of Boece's historical work.

allied French and Scots, sailed up the Forth, and landed on Inchcolm. Again was the Abbey ransacked, and the spoil taken—gold, silver, and many precious things—distributed to the English soldiery. The conventual buildings were then set on fire, but the church was spared. The pillagers made off to Queensferry, and were beginning to 'rive' cattle there, when a troop of Scots horse led by Lyndesay, two Erskines, and Conyngham of Kilmaurs, surprised the invaders and drove them back to their ships.

In 1402, says Fordun's *Chronicle*, was founded the chapel of the Blessed Virgin (or Lady Chapel already mentioned) by two ecclesiastics of the Inchcolm house, Richard of Aberdeen, Prior, and Thomas Crawford, Canon.

During the fifteenth century it is plain that the Abbey of Inchcolm still lay in dread of hostile incursions; for the erudite Abbot Walter, who, as we have seen, became its Superior in 1418, found it necessary to betake himself and his Canons to the mainland during some summer seasons; for that, being in fear of the English, they durst not stay in the island. What a picture this reveals to us of the insecurity and lawlessness of the times, and the jeopardy of these insular monasteries, perennially exposed to perils of waters, perils of robbers, perils in the wilderness, and with no defence against sacrilegious assailants save the ban of the Church.

In my account of Inchkeith, mention was made of certain sixteenth century incursions into the Firth of Forth by English fleets under the orders of Seymour, Duke of Somerset. Now, in 1547, after the fight of Pinkie, this redoubted leader seized upon Inchcolm as a post commanding 'utterly the whole use of the Fryth itself with all the havens upon it.' This we learn from a certain Londoner named Patin (or Patten), who, as a sort of *sagaman* to the English force, writes a narrative of this *Expedicion in Scotland*. He tells us, further, that Somerset sent the brethren a new abbot-elect, Sir John Luttrell, knight, together with a hundred *hakbutters*, fifty pioneers, two *row-barks*, well munitioned, and seventy mariners, to keep his waters. Of this soldier-abbot, the narrator adds with a touch of irony, 'so that either for love of his blessings, or fear of his

cursings, he is like to be sovereign over most of his neighbours.' Patin also tells us that the island had a plentiful supply of fresh water (which it retains to this day in the old Abbey well), and 'coonies' (conies or rabbits).

We have noted the Muniment Room built over the Chapter-house of the monastery. According to Grose, there was formerly a black-letter inscription visible on the walls of this chamber, whereof one significant word could alone be deciphered, *Stultus!*

In 1543, Henry, Abbot of Inchcolm, surrendered his office, and soon after, this notable house of Augustin Canons, which had been some 400 years located in the little islet of the Forth, was dissolved. Henceforward the Abbey was deserted and fell to ruin, and neither lection nor litany, chanted antiphon nor chime of bell, was heard more within its venerable walls.

The last historical item I shall note in connexion with the monastery of Inchcolm brings us to the momentous year that consummated the great religious Revolution in Scotland. Sir James Stewart (afterwards of Ochiltree), uncle to Crichton 'the admirable,' having acquired from the Abbot Nicholas, on Abbot Henry's surrender, the lands of West Aberdour and Beith, became Commendator of Inchcolm (*i.e.*, a sort of vicarial Crown trustee of its revenues). In this capacity he sat in the National Assembly of the Scottish Estates, which in 1560 ratified the Geneva Confession of Faith.

During the plagues and epidemics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the island served as a 'lazaretto' for those infected or suspected of disease. It also appears to have done duty on one occasion as a prison, for Bellenden, the chronicler, records that a daughter of an Earl of Ross, and member of the great family 'de Insulis' was interned here by James First of Scotland. Drummond of Hawthornden calls her 'a mannish implacable woman,' and this proceeding was doubtless connected with the vigorous measures taken by the King against the turbulent clans of the Western Highlands, and their chieftains, foremost among whom was Alexander, Lord of the Isles, afterwards confined in Tantallon Castle. Assuming the credibility of this statement, it would seem a

curious situation for a distinguished lady, shut up with her female attendants in a little islet like this, the abode of a congregation of male cenobites.

Some items of interest concerning St. Colm's Island are mentioned by General Hutton, writing in the twenties of the present century. Immured in the Abbey walls, he says, there was found in or about 1807 by some workmen a human skeleton standing upright. A grim revelation this, mayhap of some dire conventual penalty of former days, recalling the dread scene in 'Marmion' of monastic retribution; the sombre Benedictine tribunal, the relentless judges, the doomed guilty twain, the cowled executioners!

> 'For there were seen in that dark wall,
> Two niches narrow, deep, and tall.
> Who enters at such grisly door,
> Shall ne'er, I ween, find exit more.'

And then the last presageful words of the beautiful transgressing sister:

> 'Some traveller then shall find my bones
> Whitening amid disjointed stones.'

'In the middle of the Forth,' says Hutton, 'about 100 yards east of Inchcolm, there is a small black rock, which is called the Prison Island, and which, it is said, was used by the convent as a place of punishment and penance.* There is no island answering to this description, but it is possible the rock now named 'Swallow Craig,' which is somewhere near that distance out from the shore, may be the place meant. Or, again, he may possibly have been referring to 'Carcraig' skerry, some 900 yards E.N. East of Inchcolm. Whichever it was, a vivid imagination can perhaps picture the figure of a refractory Augustinian condemned for some flagrant breach of the discipline of his order to be boated across to either of these swart rocks and left there awhile with a pittance of victual to meditate wave-washed on his default, or recite the 'hours' in the company of skewerbacks and sea-pyats.

From the same writer we learn that in 1797 Inchcolm was

* According to Arnold's 'Account of Inchcolm.'

used as a hospital by the Russians when their fleet lay in the Forth, which, he adds, 'may account for the surprising quantity of human bones to be found all over the island, heaped together with the utmost confusion according to the Russian mode of burial.'

Before taking leave of the Abbey and its history, I must not overlook the so-called 'Cave' situated on the edge of the rocky promontory ('Charles Hill'), which interposes between the bays of Barnhill and Braefoot, at a point on the mainland nearest to the island. This cave, says Arnold, is a well-built vaulted chamber, and he thinks it was probably the lower storey of what may have been a tower of some height. The round-headed doorway in it, he adds, and the small windows facing the sea, are so well-formed of ashlar work as to suggest that the structure was the work of the builders of the insular Abbey. In all probability, he concludes, it was built as a ferry-house for the use of the monks journeying between the island and the mainland.

I pass now to the oratory or 'Capellula' (little chapel) of the anchorite. This cell, says Simpson, is of the quadrangular figure of the oldest and smallest Irish churches and oratories. In appearance one finds it a little rudely-vaulted building, arched with stone slabs set externally to a sort of sharp ridge. The internal dimensions of the chamber measure some 16 feet long by 5 wide, and at the crown voussoir $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height. The arching is of a like early character with the rest of the structure, a type of building usually assigned to a period ranging between the 6th and 10th centuries. The walls are not straight, nor is their trace strictly rectangular. At the east end is a tiny window-opening with recessed sill, and in the south wall a small niche, perhaps an 'aumbry,' or for the sacred elements. Along the western end is a stone bench or *sedile*, running to the full width of the cell. The entrance doorway has an arched head somewhat peculiarly constructed. Externally it is radiated, internally it is built up of overlapping and converging stones capped with a flat lintel. The whole structure has a thoroughly primitive and antique aspect. Just outside the doorway are two large trap boulders. In the time

of the early eremites the fine spring of water which afterwards became the island well, used by the Abbey, was doubtless held in high esteem far and wide as the 'holy well' of the hermitage. Sir James Simpson mentions that a sort of causeway or passage was discovered leading from the well to the oratory. 'In all probability,' he adds, 'the *capellula* of the hermit on Inchcolm was at once' (as in the Scoto-Irish examples) 'both the habitation and oratory of the solitary anchorite, and apparently the only building on the island when Alexander was tossed upon its shores. Its sacred character would probably lead to its preservation, and perhaps to its repair and restoration, when, a few years afterwards, the monastery rose in its immediate neighbourhood in pious fulfilment of the royal vow.'

Besides the ecclesiological relics, there are at Inchcolm the remains of a fort or battery erected in 1794, presumably in view of the great French war then just opening. It consists of two portions, a main fort and an advanced outwork, both situated on the smaller or ocean-ward wing of the island, and facing towards Inchkeith. The fort proper stands upon the summit ridge of the eastern hill, nearly a hundred feet above sea level. It is rectangular in shape, covers a respectable area of ground, and has emplacements for four guns. Some ruined buildings and a dilapidated old flag-staff with its guy ring-bolts let in to outcropping rocks, are still visible: and one sees the road of approach which led up to it from the landing place below. The smaller advanced battery is built at the extreme eastern point of the island; a line of parapet wall some twenty yards long, with an earthen embankment in front, and stone platform for three guns, the iron pivots of which are still *in situ*. In his *Journey through North Britain* (1802) Mr. Alexander Campbell mentions this fort, and says there was then a corps of artillery occupying it.

We have already noted the curious discovery by some workmen about 1807 of a skeleton walled up in the monastery building. Now, according to General Hutton's account, these men were being employed at the time repairing the Inchcolm battery; and it was while collecting stones for this purpose

from the Abbey church that they lighted upon their 'find.' Here, then, we seem to have an illustration, oft repeated, of the utter indifference a few generations back to the conservation of historic ruins. As the rovers of yore were wont to despoil the monasteries and churches of their gems and garniture, so the modern spoliators made nought of carting away bodily the stones of the consecrated edifices to build cottages and cowbyres.

I will close the present account of Inchcolm with some extracts from the 'Burgh Records of Edinburgh.'

During an epidemic of pest of some kind in August, 1564, certain 'Inches' of the Forth were told off as discharging places for the cargoes of particular inbound vessels in quarantine entering the port of Leith.* Among these we find the Council allotting 'the ships of Robert Sandis, the Grewhound, George Hay, to Sanct Columbeis Inche: the Ducheman and Robert Hogg to Crawmonde Inche.' Sixteen years later, the pest is again exercising the Provost and Corporation of the capital city; for, in a Minute of Council, of date 30th September, 1580, it is set forth that certain folk of Edinburgh and Leith 'who had their kin and friends infected with the pest lying in Saint Colm's Inche,' were like to suffer from default of any 'to wait upon them and to bear the office of cleansers.' Wherefore divers individuals had been sent to the island to tend the sick, 'and now the persons being deceased to whom they were sent, their said friends refuse to bear the charges of the said cleansers until they may get liberty.' The Council orders those who had made the request for attendance to pay all charges thereof. And it is further enjoined that the account, reckoning, and contribution, are to be made in the ship 'callit the *William*, wherein the said pest was brought from Danskin (Danzig?)'† Sir James Marwick infers from this that Inchcolm island was used in times of pestilence as a place for cleansing and quarantine. This view is supported by a Council Minute of 3rd October, 1580, which decrees that the

* See previous observations on Inchkeith.

† *Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, edited by J. D. Marwick, 1875.

sea chests, baggage, and clothes, belonging to three persons, and taken out of the infected ship *William*, should either be impounded for fifteen days in Newhaven or in St. Colm's Island, or else be burnt and destroyed. Another Minute in the following January ordains that all the merchants and mariners of St. Colm's Inch having left the isle, and 'prayset be God' no infection seen to ensue, the remaining purgers were to be transported to Newhaven, and there be shut up awhile.

On 14th April, 1581, the Council of Edinburgh 'appoints Alexander Uddert, Baillie, Jhone Harwood, Dean of Guild, and Henry Nesbet, to agree and make price with Archibald Stewart in the Queens Ferry for buying from him of the *asler* and *thak staynis* of the Abbey in Sanct Colme's Inche to the townes wark, so many as shall be thought needful.' A further Minute announces the Council's intention to use the purchased stones and ashlar work from the island in rebuilding the old Tolbooth of the city. And a little later (30th June, 1581,) we hear again of these materials taken from the deserted Abbey: for Councillor Robert Bog is charged with the 'upbringing and placing of the ashlar stones come from Sanct Colmes Inch and lying on the shore of Leyth' to be used for the 'town's common works.'

On the whole, the appropriating of a few stones from the monastery ruins early in the present century, during the stress of the war with France, to repair the Inchcolm battery, seems a small matter beside this wholesale deportation of roofing slabs and hewn stone, the pick of the mediæval masonry of the Abbey, to subserve the urban secular needs of Dunedin. There may be those, possibly, who would regard this last proceeding as a precedent for the proposed expropriation of the revenues of the modern Church—teinds, tithes, charitable bequests, or what not, contributed by the piety of our ancestors—to hand them over for non-religious purposes to the all-devouring maw of the latest leaders of the rout!

The reader, I think, will now have gleaned enough about Inchcolm to realise what an interesting spot is this little rocky sea-girt nook of the Forth;—so near the busy haunts of men,

and yet from its insulated position so shut off from the noise and bustle of the crowd. And, though 'the long-drawn aisle and fretted vault' of the mouldering fane are well nigh obliterated, and the very God's-acre indistinguishable, the aroma of ancient days still clings to the spot.

In parting from these venerable ruins, one may not inaptly recall the sentiment of the great Fleet Street moralist concerning their Hebridean counterpart. 'Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings.'

T. Pilkington White.

Art. II.—ARGON AND THE ATMOSPHERE.

THE thirty-first of January, 1895, must for ever be regarded as a red letter day in the history of chemical and physical science, for on that Thursday evening, in the Lecture Theatre of London University—the rooms of the Society being too small to accommodate the audience assembled—at a special meeting of the Royal Society, a paper was read to a crowded and enthusiastic audience, numbering amongst its members several distinguished statesmen, by Lord Rayleigh and Professor William Ramsay, on a newly discovered constituent of the air. For some weeks previous, the occasion had been looked forward to, in scientific circles, with keen expectation and interest, as the results about to be communicated, had been anticipated, to a certain extent, by an informal announcement,* made some months earlier (August, 1894), to the Members of the British Association, at their meeting in Oxford; but the information then communicated was so scanty that it did little more than stimulate further curiosity.

* The informality of the announcement made at the British Association was for the purpose of avoiding any infringement of the regulations attached to the competition for the Hodgkins Fund Prizes offered by the Smithsonian Institution for scientific discoveries. It may be interesting here to add that the first prize of 10,000 dollars has recently been awarded to Lord Rayleigh and Professor William Ramsay for their discovery of Argon.

Long before the hour of meeting, according to newspaper reports, the doors were besieged by an excited throng of grey-headed philosophers and their friends; and as the votaries of science are not inclined to indulge in enthusiastic outbursts, as a rule, the excitement manifested on this occasion must be regarded as all the more significant.

The full import of this great discovery it is impossible as yet to estimate. Before considering the nature of the new substance and in view of this most recent addition to our knowledge on the subject, it may be interesting to very briefly review the history of the development of our knowledge of the composition of the air, giving the results of some highly important recent researches on its liquefaction and solidification.

It has been truly remarked that a schoolboy knows more of natural science than was dreamt of in the philosophies of the greatest thinkers of antiquity. For many reasons the investigation of the laws of Nature in the past was surrounded with peculiar difficulties. Thus in ancient times the forces of Nature impressed the human mind with such a sense of awe and reverence as to deter even the curious from prying too deeply into her secrets. Nature worship, so universal among the nations of antiquity, regarded scientific investigation into natural laws as savouring of impiety—a view which we may mention in passing has not been wholly confined to these remote ages, but has survived well into modern times, and which justifies the statement that religious superstition has, in the past, been one of the greatest opponents to the advancement of natural science.

Another retarding influence was the prevalence of certain theories which biassed the minds of its students in pursuing their investigations into the composition of matter. The elements, according to the ancients, were only four or five in number, and even these, it was believed, could be derived from one single or primary element. The Hindoos, thousands of years before the Christian era, believed that the elements were *fire*, *air*, *earth* and *water*; and that from air the other three could be formed. This tendency to refer all matter to one fundamental element may be said to have received a fresh impetus in the earliest period of Greek philosophy; and we can trace its influence in the existence

of various theories which survived up to the birth of modern chemistry, at the close of last century. To it indeed belongs the origin of the theory of the transmutation of metals, which led to the search after 'the philosopher's stone,' a subject to the fruitless investigation of which the alchemists of the Middle Ages devoted so much of their time. Thus, according to Thales, of Miletus, who lived during the sixth century, B.C., *water* was the fundamental or primary element, a view which survived as late as the seventeenth century, and was reproduced in the doctrines of the famous alchemist Van Helmont, who thought that metals and even rocks may be resolved into water, and that both animal and vegetable substances are derived from it. On the other hand, Anaximenes, another of the Greek philosophers, regarded *air* as the primary element. According to him, the clouds are caused by the condensation of air, and rain by the condensation of the clouds; while according to yet another Greek philosopher, Archelaus, air, when rarified, becomes fire, when condensed, water. Indeed, this belief in the intimate relation between air and water was a common one among Greek philosophers, and also during the Middle Ages, as is evinced by the opinion, for long prevalent, that when water is boiled it is converted into air.

It is really to Empedocles that we owe the doctrine of the division of matter into four elements, *earth*, *air*, *fire*, and *water*, although the doctrine is generally associated with the name of Aristotle. According to Empedocles, these four elements are not able to pass into one another but form, by their intermixture, all things. Aristotle added a fifth element, *ether*. His view of these elements differed from that of Empedocles, inasmuch as he believed that they were mutually convertible into one another. As has been repeatedly pointed out, the meaning of the word element, as used by Aristotle, is not that which we now attach to it, when we speak of the 'chemical elements,' of which more than seventy are at present known. That these elements of the ancients were more of the nature of *principles* is shown by the fact that they were divided into two or more parts. For example, air was divided into 'passive atmosphere' and 'active wind.' Further, air included smoke, steam, all vapours, and whatever approached to the nature of a gas. With the term

earth was associated the idea of dryness and coldness; with the term *water*, *coldness* and *wetness;* with the term *air*, *wetness* and *heat;* and lastly, with the term *fire*, *dryness*, and *heat*. The word 'air' was subsequently used, in a general sense, as a synonym for the word gas. During the early years of pneumatic chemistry, the different gases were called 'airs,' as, for example, '*fixed air*,' '*nitrous air*,' '*dephlogisticated air*,' etc., just, indeed, as water included all liquids —'*aqua fortis*,' '*aqua regia*,' '*eau-de-vie*,' etc.*

The first hint as to its nature is to be found in various observations on the phenomenon of combustion. The intimate relation between fire and air was early recognised, seeing that experience soon taught that air was necessary for fire. The experiment of burning a candle in a closed vessel, now so familiar to every schoolboy, is a very old one; and the influence of a blast of air on a furnace had been probably noticed from a very remote period. By some it was affirmed to be the food of fire, while by others the same belief was embodied in the phrase 'air nourishes fire.' Again, it was long ago observed that *nitre*, a substance well known to the chemical philosophers of the past, could produce intense ignition. It was hence inferred, that, since nitre possessed this property, it necessarily followed that the two substances resembled each other in composition. According to Robert Boyle, the air contained 'volatile nitre;' while Lord Bacon held that air contained a 'volatile, crude, and windy spirit;' and thunder and lightning were supposed to be due to the presence of minute particles of this nitre diffused through the air.

The important bearing of such observations is due to the fact that oxygen gas, which is one of the chief constituents of air, and the one to which it owes its power of supporting combustion, also forms the largest elementary constituent of nitre, and is likewise the source of the power possessed by that body of supporting combustion.

The action of heat on metals in causing them to lose their metallic lustre had also not escaped notice, and Cardan, a philosopher who lived during the sixteenth century, in noticing the increase in weight that lead undergoes when heated in air,

* See Rodwell's *Birth of Chemistry* (Macmillan).

attributed it to the gas in the air which feeds flame, and which rekindles a body presenting an ignited point.

To Robert Hooke, and to his pupil and successor, John Mayow, we owe the most important contribution to our knowledge of the chemical nature of air, made up to this time. Hooke's theories were published towards the close of the seventeenth century. He concluded that combustion was effected by that constituent of the air, that is contained in nitre. John Mayow, a young Oxford physician, whose early death must for ever be regarded as an irreparable loss to chemical science, adopted Hooke's theories in his famous *Tractatus*, published in 1674. Mayow's volume may be regarded as forming the basis of pneumatic chemistry (that is, the chemistry of gases); and, had he lived to continue his observations, we cannot doubt that the discovery of the composition of the air would have been forestalled by a considerable number of years. To the combustible part of air, *i.e.*, oxygen, he gave the name 'nitre air,' 'fire air,' and 'nitro-ærial spirit,' because, in the experiment of burning a candle in an enclosed quantity of air, all the air is not consumed. Nitre contains this same 'ærial spirit' in large quantities in a condensed form. All acids, he further maintained, also contained nitre air —a singularly interesting observation, when we reflect on the origin of the term oxygen, which was given to that body a century later by Lavoisier, in the belief that it was an essential constituent of all acids. Altogether, Mayow's experiments are full of interest for the modern chemist. By them he established the analogous nature of the phenomena of combustion and animal respiration. He found that by confining an animal in a limited quantity of air, the 'nitro-ærial spirit' was removed just in the same way as it was removed by burning a piece of camphor.

Unfortunately for the interests of science, Mayow's views did not obtain that amount of consideration which they undoubtedly merited; and it was not till a century after the publication of his *Tractatus* that the discovery of *oxygen* was simultaneously, but independently, made by the two great chemists Priestley and Scheele—a discovery which, along with the researches of Black, Lavoisier, and others, laid the foundation of our knowledge of the true composition of air. The date of this important discovery

was 1774. The discovery of *nitrogen* was made just two years earlier, viz., in 1772, by Professor Rutherford of Edinburgh. To Dr. Joseph Black, also of Edinburgh, we owe the discovery of carbon dioxide. As early as 1754, in his inaugural thesis, delivered as a graduate in medicine, Black described some experiments he had made with quicklime, which, he found, when exposed to the air, increased in weight and absorbed from the atmosphere a gas which he could again expel by heating the lime to redness. To this gas he gave the name 'fixed air,' and which we now call *carbon dioxide.*

From then up till now the composition of the air has been made the subject of many and elaborate researches, which have revealed, in addition to the presence of the above mentioned gases—viz., oxygen, nitrogen, and carbon dioxide, — traces of other gases, such as *ammonia* and other *nitrogen compounds*, as well as *ozone*, an allotropic modification of oxygen. These latter gases, however, it must be mentioned, are present in what, to the popular mind, is little more than infinitesimal amounts.

Again, thanks to the development of bacteriological science and the researches of investigators like Professor P. F. Frankland, we have discovered that the air is teeming with micro-organic life ; while Mr. John Aitken, F.R.S., has shown, by most ingeniously contrived experiments, that every cubic inch of air contains millions of minute inorganic particles, which play an important part in the formation of fogs.

But of all the researches recently carried out, none exceed in interest those which have culminated in the reduction of air, not merely to the liquid but also to the solid state—a result which may fairly be regarded as one of the greatest triumphs of modern science. The bearing this achievement has had on certain scientific problems, of the first importance, invests these researches with added interest.

The possibility of the conversion of matter in the gaseous state into matter in the liquid state has long been recognised. As far back as the year 1801, Dalton predicted this conversion in the following memorable words—'There can scarcely be a doubt entertained respecting the reductibility of all elastic fluids of whatever kind into liquids ; and we ought not to despair of it in low

temperatures and with strong pressure exerted on the unmixed gases. It was, however, precisely the production of these low temperatures and strong pressures that constituted the difficulty in realising this prediction; and twenty years elapsed before the first step towards its verification was taken by Faraday, who succeeded, in the year 1823, in liquefying chlorine, a gas so familiar to all as the great bleaching agent. Subsequently, by a series of brilliant experiments, he succeeded in reducing gas after gas to the liquid, and many, indeed, to the solid state. In his earlier experiments, pressure was the agent alone employed, as the means of producing excessively low temperatures were, at that time, unknown. It is, however, through the agency of extreme cold that the gases constituting the air have been liquefied.

The first to submit was carbon dioxide, which was frozen by Thilorier in 1835. At that time the lowest temperature which could be produced was 146° Fahr. (*i.e.* 178° of frost). Despite the fact that the means of producing such a low temperature wereavailable, several gases for long resisted all efforts at liquefaction, and among them were the two atmospheric gases, oxygen and nitrogen. The belief that these gases could not be liquefied was for some time entertained. They were hence called 'permanent' gases but even these were destined to be subdued.

On the 22nd of December, 1887, a year which must for ever be memorable in the history of chemistry, the liquefaction of oxygen was announced as having been successfully accomplished. By a strange coincidence this great achievement was effected simultaneously by two investigators—M. Pictet of Geneva, and M. Cailletet of Paris, who, unknown to one another, had been devoting years of painstaking research to effect this object. The coincidence is rendered all the more striking when we remember that a similar coincidence is associated with the discovery of this gas in 1774 by Priestley and Scheele. The methods employed by both investigators were similar, and consisted in the combination of enormous pressure with very low temperatures. The oxygen gas, submitted to a pressure of five to six hundred atmospheres, and a temperature of 162° of frost was suddenly allowed to escape through a narrow aperture, and in so doing consumed such a quantity of heat as to condense a portion of the

gas. The liquefaction of nitrogen by the same experimenters soon followed.

It was left, however, to Professor Dewar of the Royal Institution, London, to perfect the methods for the production of these gases in the liquid state, in quantities sufficient to study their properties, and to reduce nitrogen and air to the liquid state. Professor Dewar's researches have been going on for some years now, but they were first made known to the general public on the occasion of the Faraday Centenary in 1891. The following short description, from a recent article in the *Edinburgh Review*, of Professor Dewar's lecture may be quoted:—

'The numerous audience' says the writer 'collected in the Theatre of the Royal Institution on Friday evening, June 26th, 1891, were amazed to see liquid oxygen freely on tap and drawn off, to a vulgar apprehension, *smoking hot*. In point of fact it was boiling at a temperature of 328° of frost, its steaming appearance being due to the conversion of the moisture in the surrounding air into ice particles through contact with the swiftly escaping gas. When cleared, by filtering through blotting paper, of some fine dust of carbonic acid gas, it wore the appearance of limpid light blue water. A few drops of it, however, thrown on genuine water fizzed and spluttered like red-hot iron plunged into a cool stream, and presently each one was seen floating about in a self-made cup of ice. Some alcohol poured into the mysterious liquid became promptly a solid block. Yet alcohol resists the sternest Arctic rigours, freezing indeed at 234° frost. Removed from the oxygen it thawed into a viscid substance, which could not be induced to burn until it had taken up heat enough to restore it to its normal condition.'

Among the most striking properties of liquid oxygen may be noticed its singular inertness. Thus such substances as phosphorus and potassium, which exhibit great affinity for this element in the gaseous form, are not acted upon when placed in liquid oxygen. Nothing, indeed, is more striking than this result, which points to the fact that matter at such low temperatures ceases to possess its ordinary chemical properties.

Nitrogen is more difficult to liquefy than oxygen, yet it is a striking fact that the two gases liquefy together, although they

evaporate separately. In the liquefaction of nitrogen and air, liquid oxygen was used by Professor Dewar for producing a sufficiently low temperature. This was boiled in vacuo, and the enormously low temperature of 340° of frost was obtained. Such a temperature is sufficient to effect the liquefaction of nitrogen and air at ordinary atmospheric pressure. But a still lower temperature has been obtained by Professor Dewar, viz., 378° of frost, and this temperature effects the solidification of nitrogen and air, a feat which was first accomplished at the beginning of last year. Frozen air, it may be mentioned, is a substance like ice. Although oxygen is more easily liquefied than nitrogen, all experiments have failed to freeze it. The difficulty which hampered Professor Dewar in his earlier experiments in investigating the properties of liquid oxygen was the violent ebullition which it underwent. This has been overcome by retaining it in vessels surrounded by vacuum spaces. Liquid oxygen in such vessels evaporates only comparatively slowly, and can be kept for some time. Another property of liquid oxygen is its magnetic character.

The extremely low temperatures which Professor Dewar has thus been able to command have been utilised by him in investigating the properties of matter under such conditions. Thus it has been found that the tensile strength of metals is very much increased, in some cases doubled. Of great interest too is the effect of cold on colour, many colours being changed by it. But what may be regarded by some to be of greatest interest, are the experiments which Professor M'Kendrick has carried out on the effect of such low temperatures on the spores of microbes and the seeds of plants, the results of which seem to show that such forms of life can survive under such conditions; a fact which gives plausibility to Lord Kelvin's theory of the meteoric origin of life on our globe.

When we consider the enormous amount of research which has been expended in investigating the composition of the air, and in measuring the exact proportions in which its component parts are present, it seems well nigh incredible that a constituent, present in such quantities as argon has been proved to be, should have so long escaped notice. It is often, however, the 'unex-

pected' that happens; and this holds true of discoveries in natural science, as well as of other things.

The history of the discovery of *Argon*, as the new element has been provisionally named, is striking, and illustrates how scientific discoveries are not made, as they are sometimes popularly believed to be, in a haphazard manner, but are the result, in nearly every case, of laborious and painstaking research.

The air, as we have already pointed out, is chiefly made up of nitrogen gas, an element so inert in its properties, that it was first called *azote*, that is, without life, when discovered by Professor Rutherford, at the close of last century. Unlike oxygen, the air's other chief constituent, it combines with very few substances. It may consequently be prepared from air, previously freed from water vapour and carbon dioxide, by combining the oxygen with any one of the many elements with which this singularly active body readily combines. What remains over after this treatment has hitherto been regarded as pure nitrogen. Lord Rayleigh, however, in the course of his delicate investigations on the densities of certain gases,—investigations which have been going on for a number of years now—found that nitrogen, obtained in this manner,—which we may call 'atmospheric' nitrogen,—was slightly denser than nitrogen obtained from its compounds,—or what we may term 'chemical' nitrogen. The difference in the density of these two kinds of nitrogen, it is true, was very slight,—'atmospheric' nitrogen being a half per cent. heavier than 'chemical' nitrogen—so slight indeed that it might well have seemed to come within the limits of experimental error. But, to so accurate a worker, and brilliant an experimentalist as Lord Rayleigh, the discrepancy was quite sufficient to arrest his attention and demand further investigation. Before, however, permitting himself to draw any conclusions from these results, he took the precaution of making sure that the discrepancy observed was not attributable to any impurities which had crept in, in the course of his experiments, such as the introduction of small quantities of some lighter gas, as, for example, hydrogen, into the less dense form of nitrogen. Having assured himself, however, that such was not the case, the obvious conclusion to be drawn from the facts observed was that 'atmos-

pheric' nitrogen was not, after all, what it had hitherto been believed to be, viz., pure nitrogen, but a mixture of nitrogen and some other unknown substance.

The next step in the discovery, therefore, was to separate this unknown substance from the 'atmospheric' nitrogen, and to study its nature and properties. The task, as it subsequently proved, was no easy one; and Lord Rayleigh has confessed that, of all the researches he has as yet undertaken, this one has proved the most arduous and difficult. The difficulty chiefly consisted in the fact that the new substance proved itself to be a body, so inert in its properties, that it could not be induced to combine with any substance.* Till now chemists have been wont to regard nitrogen as the typically inert element; compared with argon, however, it is positively active. Attempts made to combine it with oxygen, hydrogen, or with chlorine have proved vain. Phosphorus, sodium, and sulphur seem equally incapable to tempt the appetite of this singularly fastidious substance; and this despite the fact that they have been offered to it in their most attractive forms, and under conditions the most favourable for chemical action. It is well known that all the above mentioned bodies possess singular chemical activity, and readily combine with most elements, but all have been repulsed by argon. Indeed certain metals may be distilled in it without becoming tarnished.†

It may readily be imagined that to investigate the properties of a body, so exclusive in its tastes, and so inert in its properties, was truly an arduous task. In carrying out his researches, Lord Rayleigh has been associated with Professor William Ramsay, F.R.S., Professor of Chemistry in University College, London; while Professor Olszewski, of Cracow, a distinguished Polish chemist, has investigated the properties of the new sub-

* Since writing the above the distinguished French chemist, M. Berthelot, of Paris, has announced the interesting fact that he has succeeded in inducing argon to combine with carbon disulphid and mercury and with 'the elements of benzene with the help of mercury' under the influence of the silent electrical discharge vapour of benzine.

† Argon has been submitted to the action of titanium (a metal having a great affinity for nitrogen) at a red heat without being affected. M. Moissan has also recently found that fluorine is without action upon it.

stance at very low temperatures, and has succeeded in obtaining it in a liquid and solid state. Lastly, Mr. Crookes, F.R.S., has tested its spectrum.

Argon may be obtained from 'atmospheric' nitrogen by different methods.

Although nitrogen is singularly inert, it nevertheless does combine with certain substances; among which may be mentioned magnesium, aluminium, strontium, lithium, barium, titanium, etc. Of these, magnesium in a red hot condition has been found the most suitable substance to use. If, therefore, 'atmospheric' nitrogen be passed over red hot magnesium, it will combine with the magnesium and leave the argon in a pure condition behind. The process, however, is a slow one. Or again nitrogen may be removed from the mixture by making it unite with oxygen under the influence of the electric spark—a process which takes place even more slowly than the one just mentioned. The latter method has long been known, and was used by the great English chemist, Cavendish, more than a century ago in his researches on air. Indeed, Cavendish may justly be described as having foreshadowed the discovery of argon, since he found in these researches, that he could not successfully remove, by sparking, all the nitrogen from the air, and that about $\frac{1}{120}$th part of the whole remained over. This interesting fact Lord Rayleigh and Professor Ramsay readily admit, and they take occasion to pay a very high tribute to the genius of their great predecessor.

Another method of proving the presence of argon in atmospheric nitrogen is by what is known as *atmolysis*. It has been found that if a mixture of two gases, of different densities, be permitted to diffuse through a porous substance, such as, for example, pipe clay, the lighter of the two gases will diffuse through itself at a greater rate than the heavier. By repeating such an experiment several times, the ultimate result will be the separation of the two gases. By taking advantage of this property of gases, and by passing 'atmospheric' nitrogen through a series of church-warden tobacco pipes—the porous material of which furnishes a suitable atmolyser—Lord Rayleigh and Professor Ramsay have succeeded in obtaining a residual gas, of greater density than nitrogen. The argon, it may be added,

which has been obtained by these different methods, has been found to be similar in its properties. This is proved by its spectrum as obtained by the different methods, being the same.

Whether the substance is an element, that is, a body which cannot be split up into two or more substances, or not, is still doubtful. The evidence available, however, seems to point to the probability of its being an element * seeing that it is believed to be monatomic. The only difficulty so far as we can at present see, in assuming it to be an element, is our inability to classify it, according to the periodic law of the elements. In the belief that it is an element, the discoverers have given it the name argon (the Greek for inert or lazy) on account of its singularly inert properties. It is perhaps, however, not altogether correct to regard argon as a body of little chemical activity, since it may be, after all, that such bodies as nitrogen and argon, which exhibit so little chemical affinity for other bodies, are not really inactive bodies; but are truly more active than other bodies; since they are, as Professor Armstrong, the President of the Chemical Society, took occasion to remark, in the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, so fond of themselves that they have no affinity left for outsiders. But this point is one which scarcely admits of discussion here.

The density of Argon is approximately represented by the figure 20 as compared with hydrogen—nitrogen being 14 and and oxygen 16. One hundred parts of water at 13·9°C., absorbs 4 parts by volume of Argon. It is thus about as soluble in water as oxygen, and two and a half times as soluble as nitrogen. In appearance, it is hardly necessary to say, it is a colourless gas, indistinguishable from the air, of which it forms probably only about one per cent.†

* This belief is largely supported by what is known as 'the ratio of the specific heats.'

† Some most interesting results have been obtained by Professor Olszewski on the behaviour of the new gas at very low temperatures. It is possible, as we have pointed out in the preceding portion of this article, to liquefy all gases. In this department of research Professor Olszewski is known as one of the most brilliant and successful experimenters. On receiving a quantity of Argon from its discoverers, he succeeded in both liquefying and solidifying it. It forms a bluish liquid, and, in the solid state, white crystals.

The question of whether Argon may not be what chemists term an 'allotropic' modification of nitrogen—a more condensed form of nitrogen, as ozone is a more condensed form of oxygen —has been raised. This view at first sight seems to be suggested by the density of the new gas, which approximates to the theoretical density of such a condensed form of nitrogen (viz., 21). If this were so, however, a nearer approximation to 20 than 19·8 should surely be got by repeated careful determination. Other difficulties are also in the way of such a supposition, such as the ratio of specific heat and the amount of cooling required to condense it.* It would therefore seem highly probable that Argon is really a new element. Granting this, the question which naturally first occurs to the ordinary mind is—What is it good for? We must, however, be content to wait a little longer for an answer to this question. Indeed, if we judge by the analogy of nitrogen, it may be a very long time before we discover what functions Argon performs in the terrestrial economy. Nitrogen has been discovered for more than 100 years to be a constituent of the air, and yet it is only within the last few years that we have been able to ascribe any important *rôle* to this most abundant air constituent. The only function it was for long believed to perform was to dilute the oxygen. We have recently discovered, however, that it performs a most important part in promoting vegetable growth, by supplying, to a large number of plants, the nitrogen which is an indispensable ingredient of their food. Nor must it be imagined that the quantity in which Argon is present in the air is too small in amount to have much effect on terrestrial life. We must remember that carbon dioxide, a constituent which is only one-twentieth as abundant in the air as Argon, is absolutely essential to the existence of vegetable life.

One discovery, it has often been found, leads to another, and it is gratifying to be able to report that this has been exemplified in the case of the discovery of Argon. Professor Ramsay, while searching for chemical combinations of Argon, was led to inves-

* There seems to be no doubt now that Argon is not an allotropic modification of nitrogen.

tigate the composition of a gas which was given off when Clèveite, a rare Norwegian mineral, was boiled with weak sulphuric acid. The result of the examination not merely showed the presence of Argon in the gas, but also of another body which had hitherto been known in solar chemistry only, viz., *Helium*.* The discovery of terrestrial Helium, while not calculated to excite the same public interest as that of Argon, has possibly created almost as much stir in scientific circles. Subsequent research has demonstrated the presence of both Argon and Helium in a meteorite which fell in Augusta County, Virginia—a fact which points to the existence of both substances in stellar atmospheres. Helium, in several respects, seems to resemble Argon. It resists, like Argon, sparking with oxygen in presence of caustic soda, is unattacked by red-hot magnesium, and is probably also a monatomic gas.

In conclusion, it would seem as if these two remarkable discoveries are destined to lead to yet a third, since examination of the spectra of Argon and Helium suggests the presence of an unknown constituent gas, common to both, which, however, yet awaits isolation.

C. M. Aikman.

Art. III.—CROMWELL BEFORE EDINBURGH, 1650: 'GOGAR FEIGHT.'

IT is with mingled feelings of pride and humiliation that the patriotic Scottish reader of history must to this day look back upon the narrative of Oliver Cromwell's campaigning in the Lothians between the last days of July and the first days of September, 1650. The story of that brief period is perhaps,

* Helium was discovered by means of the spectroscope in the solar chromosphere during the eclipse of 1868 by Professors Norman Lockyer, and Frankland.

indeed, not very generally borne in mind at the present day. It is (in the words of the advertisement, drawn out in the beginning of this century, to a collection of official and other documents bearing upon it) 'a point of Scottish history, the details of which have been generally regarded as singularly obscure;' and it remains, despite the light thrown upon it by that publication and by Thomas Carlyle in his pious pilgrimage across 'the Lethe-swamps and Tartarean Phlegethons,' unfamiliar enough to most people. Yet the leading facts of it—that Cromwell was out-generalled in his four weeks' prowl round Edinburgh by 'cautious David Lesley,' and yet wondrously retrieved himself, by a combination of good luck and good guidance, at Dunbar immediately afterwards—cannot but be generally known. They fill one even now with a kind of chagrin, as one reflects that only a single day's continuance in those waiting tactics which had reduced Cromwell to the direst straits on the eve of 'Dunbar Drove,' would to a certainty, humanly speaking, have secured for Leslie the reward of patience in victory over the invader.

Of course this is an absurd way in which to look back across the intervening centuries. We ought by this time of day fully to have recognised that the chastisement then meted out to Scotland was all for Scotland's good. As a matter of fact, indeed, no one would nowadays dream of denying that the success of Cromwell's arms alone made possible an era of government that was highly beneficial to this northern end of our island. In the spiritual and ethical aspect of the case, too, everyone is in duty bound to acquiesce in the view that Dunbar Drove, and after it Worcester Fight, were merited humiliations, bringing as they did to its only fitting conclusion the struggle between the supporters of a 'Solecism incarnate'—your Covenanted Charles II.—and the upholders of the truer divine right. Far be it from us, then, seriously to traverse Carlyle's characteristically dogmatic but clear-sighted pronouncement upon that vital point. Yet there remains, to sway our judgment in our lighter moods, the Old Adam of what would nowadays be called 'particularist' prepossessions; and it is still possible so far to enter into the feelings of our

forefathers of the time in question as even now to entertain and give vent to a grudge against the success achieved in the long run by Cromwell. On the earlier passages, in fine, of the campaign of which 'the dismall route of Dunbar' suddenly and completely altered the complexion, we dwell with a certain melancholy satisfaction. If ultimate victory did not attend Leslie and his forces, they secured at all events the consolation of Daniel Dravot, in that they had 'had a dashed fine run for their money.' 'They got us into a pound, as they reckoned,' narrates Hodgson, one of Cromwell's officers, in speaking of 'the poor, shattered, hungry, discouraged army'—again this frank subordinate's words—which lay hemmed in at Dunbar that 'drakie' * September night.

If the tactics by which Leslie had reduced his opponents to the condition just described were not heroic, they were the traditional ones by which, ever since the Wars of Independence, Scotland had time after time been enabled to hold her own against her stronger southern neighbour; and they have, as such, a distinct claim upon our notice. Indeed, the indications contained in the records of the campaign which go to show this survival, in the middle of the seventeenth century, of the accustomed Scottish method of coping with an English invasion, are amongst the most interesting points that a study of the subject brings to light. As at the date of Flodden, and long before and after, our forefathers trusted largely on this occasion to emptying the country-side of all food-supplies in advance of the enemy as he marched northwards. Carlyle has preserved some memorial of the disappearance of the population from before the face of the invading Parliamentarians: but closer acquaintance with the authority whom he quotes as telling how some of the gude wives did after all stay behind to brew and bake for the English, and as giving a contemptuous picture of the population—'much enslaved to their lords,' and therefore ready to betake themselves from their habitations in obedience to orders—is worth having for the sake of its testimony to the 'Englisches'' rather *naïf*

* Nicoll.

astonishment at their reception. The invaders seem to have been taken somewhat by surprise on finding to what extent the country they came through had been denuded of all means of maintaining life. The letters 'from the front,' as we should say, which are summarised from day to day in Whitelocke's *Memorials*, relate with a sense of wonder that evidently lingers even on the condensing pen of 'heavy Bulstrode,' how that all the Scots' 'goods and household stuff were carried away, except a few oats and meal, and a little beer hid under coals, which the soldiers made use of;' and 'that in their march from Berwick to Edinburgh the army did not meet with ten men.' The statement immediately following upon the latter of those two—'that one of the Parliament's soldiers chased ten Scots, and divers of them were taken prisoners,'—may, if we like, be taken only as showing the thoroughness of the Scots' determination to carry out the order bidding all grown men avoid the presence of the enemy. Elsewhere we read of 'the wretched country people who had hid themselves in coal-pits at the comming of our men;' and great was the invaders' wonderment later on at further signs of the sacrifices which the Scots had made rather than have their crops benefit an enemy. Whitelocke mentions that 'in those parts where the army marched'—from the date, this would appear to refer more particularly to the immediate neighbourhood of Edinburgh—'was the greatest plenty of corn that they ever saw, and not one fallow field, and now extremely trodden down and wasted, and the soldiers enforced to give the wheat to their horses.' Thus thoroughly had Leslie acted upon the established precedent of leaving an invader to fend for himself in the matter of provisions—a design which the bad weather assisted, as we know, by endangering the vessels that brought food to the English from Newcastle and other southern ports, and so crippling Cromwell's commissariat.

If Leslie followed up this excellent defensive stratagem by keeping resolutely within his lines at Edinburgh, and resisting every temptation to risk a decisive battle beyond the walls, all honour to him therefor. That 'cautious solid manner' of his appears, indeed, to have struck the English as singularly

unsportsmanlike. It was in contrast, certainly, to the vigorous, if primitive, strategy usually affected by both sides in the English Civil Wars. The 'general maxim' of Cavaliers and Roundheads alike (as is remarked by that one of the former body whose *Memoirs* Defoe evolved out of his own inner consciousness) was: 'Where is the enemy? Let us go and fight them. Or, on the other hand, if the enemy was coming, what was to be done? Why, what should be done? Draw out into the field, and fight them. I cannot say' (continues the same expert critic) 'that it was the prudence of the parties . . . and I can remark several times, when the eagerness of fighting was the worst counsel, and proved our loss.' No such mistake was made by Leslie, at all events. If the English (again to quote Defoe's Cavalier) 'never encamped or entrenched, never fortified the avenues to our posts, or lay fenced with rivers or defiles,' he, trained in a Continental school of arms, better knew the value of such precautions. It was by means of them that he baffled Cromwell for a month on end, and compelled him finally to retreat hopelessly to his ships.

It may be that this his 'masterly inactivity' was not quite to the liking of everyone in the Scotch camp. The glimpses that we have of King Charles II. at this time, for instance, lead one to think that his Covenanted Majesty was ill-satisfied with the conduct of the Scotch troops. We have Cromwell's own report of a rumour to that effect; and, according to the Cromwellian 'Relation of the Fight at Leith,' Charles dubbed his valiant defenders 'his Green Hornes' when he saw the way in which they were beaten back to their trenches on attempting a sally as the English retired from the assault. The statement, moreover, of Sir James Balfour, the then Lyon King of Arms, that, 'sore against his auen mynd,' the King 'was moved by his counsell and the generall persons of the army, to reteire himselue to Dunfermlinge' in the early days of August, seems almost to hint that anxiety to be rid of him and his criticisms was what weighed, at least as much as care for the safety of his sacred person, with those 'generall persons.' There were plenty of hot heads, no doubt, to support

Charles in advising more Rupert-like tactics, one of whom we may take to have been the Cavalier slain in the night-attack at Musselburgh, whose thoughts flew back to Charles the Martyr as he died, and led to his going out of the world with these words (worthy to be the refrain of a Browningesque 'Cavalier Tune') on his lips—'*Damme, I'll go to my King!*'

The Kirk party, again, seems throughout this campaign to have been of a more impatient temper than the canny Leslie. Whether or not the ministers deserve the blame so often meted out to them for having disastrously, as it is declared, precipitated matters at Dunbar—where, by the way, it is at all events clear that their ill-timed insistence upon the need of 'purging' the Scotch army of all 'Malignants,' helped greatly to ruin the *morale* of the troops—certain it is that the most active offensive step actually taken against Cromwell at this time was due to their initiative. This was the vigorous sortie to Musselburgh on the last night of July, after Cromwell had made his vain attempt upon the Scotch entrenchments between Edinburgh and Leith, and fallen back to the old burgh which saw so much of him and his men. The assault was, it appears, led by the Kirk's own 'pickt' regiment; there is some word of a couple of ministers having been in the thick of it in person; and the credit of an exploit in which Cromwell's quarters were beaten up to some purpose rests with the men as to whose ill-advised counsels at other times something has just been said.

But Leslie's waiting game clearly was the one to play in the circumstances. Cromwell seems quickly to have realised that the trenches 'cast,' in the words of Nicoll the diarist, 'fra the fute of Cannogait to Leith'—the lines of which were plainly to be seen a century later, by the way, as the veracious memoirs of 'David Balfour' remind us—were not to be carried out of hand. He was not among the 'barbarous wretches' of Ireland now, as he had been earlier in the year; and his anxiety (evident in all ways) to be as conciliatory as possible towards the Scotch, may have helped in determining him not to renew the cannonade on their position by which he had at his first coming tried to capture it. (It is interesting, by the

bye, to note that the assault he then made on the Scotch lines was reinforced by a bombardment from the sea; for 'Captaine Hall, reere-Admirall, being come up with the *Liberty*, the *Heart* frigot, the *Garland* and the *Dolphin*, plaid hard with their ordnance into Leith.') A direct storming assault, again, such as Cromwell had delivered with cruel effect wherever he went in Ireland, was out of the question. Hence the adoption of other tactics which point to his having had some idea of beating Leslie at his own game. He could not capture the Scotch defences by storm, and he therefore sat down to wait. It must have seemed a forlorn enough enterprise, to reduce Leslie to extremities by starvation while the Parliamentarians could watch no more than one side of Edinburgh at a time, (though they held, to be sure, command of the sea) and had to reckon with forces larger than their own lying within the walls. Yet the sole hope of the Cromwellians seems to have been in their power to force on a battle by such means, and we find them as August goes on catching eagerly at rumours that 'the enemy are reduced to extremity for want of provisions,' and that 'divers women and others got away at night from Leith by land and water and steal (*sic*) back into the country, whereby we perceive they are in some straits' from the same cause. Carlyle's statement that the English plan of campaign was thus intended is amply confirmed in the account given by an authority whom the compiler of the *Letters and Speeches* seems to have overlooked. Indeed, the contemporary *Diary* of John Nicoll—a very precise and painstaking chronicler of current events—enables us perhaps better than any other authority to piece together, so to speak, the chronology of Cromwell's strategical resolves. We may suppose two or three days to have been spent by Cromwell in considering the position after the repulse before the Leith Walk trenches and the counter-repulse of the night attack on Musselburgh. By the 5th or 6th of August, at any rate, the English were back at Dunbar, 'quhair thair schips being than rydand,' says Nicoll, 'they resavit from theme fresche vivers and amunition in abundance; and immediatlie thaireftir, within twa or thrie days, marched bak to Mussilburgh and fra

thence to Dudingstoun and alongis to Colingtoun and about.' This we may take to have been a preliminary reconnaissance set on foot in order to find out how the country west and south of Niddrie, in which village the Cromwellians had already lain, might suit for the furthering of the purpose by this time presumably simmering in their General's brain. The exploration of the 'foot-hills' of the Pentlands was evidently satisfactory from that point of view; for 'upone the 11 day of August 1650, being ane Saboth day . . . the enymie cumed bak fra Braides Crages * quhair he was than lying and returned to Mussilburgh to set down his Leagure thair till Tysday thaireftir; and then removed from Mussilburgh, and returned bak to Braides Craiges, bringing with him great quantiteis of victuell, quhilk he had takin out of the mylnes, killis, and bernis of Mussilburgh and uther pairtes thairabout.' Nicoll is corroborated in this account by a contemporary Cromwellian letter ('Muscleburgh,' Aug. 16th) given in the *Mercurius Politicus* newspaper, which, with some slight variation of dates—(readily intelligible in the light of our footnote)—shows that the invaders were preparing for a stay on the 'Pentlands' by taking '6 or 7 dayes Provisions' there. And a further important inkling of Cromwell's 'general idea' is to found in the express statement of the letter just quoted from, that he 'intended that night' (the 13th) 'to have gone to Queensferry.' This points to the daring design of taking a vantage ground thus far up the Firth, which would enable the Parliamentarians not only to cut off Leslie's supplies very effectually, but to secure the landing of their own on the west instead of the east side of Edinburgh. The badness of the 'passes' or roads, and 'other considerations,' we read, 'diverted that designe for that time;' but that it was not wholly given over will be evident from one later circum-

* Nicoll is rather less 'precise' on this point than we could have wished him to be. On that 11th of August the English were in reality returning to Musselburgh, from Dunbar, after replenishing their commissariat there. It was only on the 13th that they went to 'Braides Crages' for the first time; and the return to Musselburgh for a further supply of provisions should really be dated the 15th.

stance which we have yet to bring to light and give (as we believe, for the first time) * its proper place in the history of the campaign. In the meantime, however, we see Cromwell—thus far fortified, by the supplies requisitioned at Musselburgh, for the delays he knew he had to encounter in the absence of any prospect of getting 'in hoults' with the Scotch—setting himself to his weary task on this 13th of August, in a commanding position 'overlooking the Fife and Stirling roads.'

Of the exact movements of the Scotch forces we have, oddly enough, no equally detailed account. Balfour, indeed, speaks of their drawing 'fourth of ther trinches' and marching after the enemy towards Corstorphine, in the same sentence in which he narrates Cromwell's passage to 'Colentoun' on 'the 13 day.' On the other hand, it is not till the 18th or 19th of the month that we hear of some of their cavalry appearing 'on the west side of Edinburgh, between the river Leith and the sea'—about Coltbridge and Murrayfield, as one may guess. The same Cromwellian authority only speaks of the whole Scotch army drawing out of Leith, moreover, on the 20th, and concludes by mentioning how even then they retreated back to that town. But we may take it that within a very few days of Cromwell's lodgment on the south side of the town, he had the defenders facing him on the slopes of Murrayfield and Corstorphine hill. There ensued a period of exactly a fortnight's intermittent skirmishing, varied in one way by overtures and conferences on the Boroughmuir regarding a settlement, and in another by the siege and storm of Redhall, and ended by an afternoon's inconclusive cannonading at Gogar. Those latter incidents fully deserve to engage our attention in what space remains, if only because one traces a connection between the two, indirect but interesting. The Scotch and English armies lay on the opposite sides of the strath of the Water of Leith, in their respective strengths of Corstorphine and 'Pentland' (*i.e.*, the slopes of the Braids, the sweet dingle of Colinton, and Craiglockhart hill, too, belike). Each was too strongly posted for the other to assail it.

* Dr. S. R. Gardiner has, however, forestalled us in the last volume of his *History of the Civil War*, published since this paper was written.

If Leslie lay snug on the strong vantage ground of Corstorphine hill and its south-eastward slopes, Cromwell was secure in a similar position; 'haiffing,' as old Nicoll puts it, 'the advantage of the ground and hillis about him for his defence.' It may be fancied, however, that it was only the disparity of numbers which kept valiant Noll from trying to dislodge and defeat his opponent. His troops—all that he had to count on, for of reinforcements from the south we hear nothing—were some 16,000 all told, and sickness and casualties seem to have lost him the services of a considerable percentage of those. Leslie had probably well over 20,000 troops of all arms, and the odds, therefore, were in his favour. That the difference in numbers would have warranted him in taking the offensive we do not affirm. On the contrary, as things stood, he was playing his cards exceedingly well. 'Pickering' or 'puckeering'—what we should nowadays call skirmishing and reconnoitring—was the sum of the active work that went on for some days, and the Water of Leith, in our day a stream more useful than ornamental, found itself for once in its history a waterway of some strategic importance. Such affairs of outposts as went on must have been fought chiefly at its fords. We get a glimpse of one in a passage of a contemporary 'Relation of the Campaign,' which tells how the cavalry already mentioned as having appeared on the west side of Edinburgh before the general move of Leslie's troops thither, 'pickered in the sight of our army,' 'having the advantage of a passe over the river (which they supposed our designe was to take.') Whether this so far disputed 'passe' was the bridge which, even then, carried the westward road over the Water of Leith at Coltbridge, or a ford at Saughton or Gorgie, or (further up still) that one which to this day gives a name to Slateford, cannot now be known. The chances are (even though one cannot in that case quite account for the narrator's note having used the more definite word) that it was the bridge first named. For it was by the road on which Coltbridge is an important connecting point that the Scotch troops must have come westwards, and the intention of any 'designe to take the passe' on Cromwell's part could only be that of

cutting off their retreat by the way they had ridden. If so, there may after all be something in the tradition mentioned by James Grant in his *Old and New Edinburgh* that Cromwell found a dwelling-place one night about this time in Roseburn House. It is quite possible that he did hazard some such stay, at comparatively a long distance from his headquarters, for reconnoitring purposes.

It is, however, with the 'passe' at Slateford that the narrative of these events is more intimately concerned. Only a glance at a county map is needed to show why we say so. Bearing in mind what has been said above as to Cromwell's design in posting himself where he did, let the reader briefly study the topography of the locality until he discern that the straightest road between the Braids and the nearest point at which Cromwell could cross and hold the Stirling and Ferry roads lay across Slateford. It only then remains, ere we come to the forward movement fruitlessly attempted by Cromwell in pursuance of his intentions, to explain how it happened that that movement was delayed until the date with which Carlyle must have familiarised the student of this period—August the 27th. It was not, we may be sure, on account of such 'pickering neere Collingtoun,' as is mentioned as having occurred two days later than the (?) Coltbridge skirmish already referred to. Nor was the delay caused by Cromwell's waiting for tidings of the enemy's having 'drawne out severall waies towards Sterling, towards the provisions.' There was news of that on the 21st if Cromwell had been waiting for it, and then surely, if ever, was his chance to intercept a commissariat train. Yet he stirred not till nearly a whole week later. What detained him was, to be brief, the obstacle offered by the Laird of Redhall, who held out valiantly in his garrisoned house against the invaders, 'gallit his sodgeris' (in the words of admiring John Nicoll), 'and pat thame bak severall tymes with the los of sindry sodgeris.'

Of this Redhall (in some sort the Basing House of this northern war), and its gallant resistance to continued attack, we cannot now tell in detail. The curious may be referred for the full story to the pages of Nicoll. The importance of

the siege, which appears to have lasted in an acute stage for a whole week ere Cromwell effected a breach and stormed the place, lies, from our present point of view, in topographical considerations. A hostile Redhall was not only annoying to the 'Englisches,' as Nicoll points out, because of their lying so near it: it was formidable to Cromwell as 'ane impediment in his way' of a sort that Nicoll perhaps had not thought about when he penned those words. For the house lay hard by Slateford, and supposing a reinforcement to its 'thriescoir sodgeris,' put in by hook or crook, they would have been a nucleus of resistance, placing out of the question any such advance westwards as Cromwell had in contemplation. He had to be sure of his route back to his principal camp at Braid in the event of his being compelled ultimately to retreat. To have left Redhall occupied by a Scotch force, able in such a contingency to dispute with him the passage of the Slate Ford, might have meant utter ruin. Not therefore till he got rid of Redhall * as not only an actual but a potential 'impediment,' could he set about the last desperate business he had on hand.

That once done, and his retreat secured in case of more than probable non-success, the time had come for Cromwell's trying his fortune in the regions beyond Corstorphine Hill and its inactive but watchful army of defenders. It is well enough known what the issue turned out to be, at 'Gogar Feight;' but those designs of the Lord General which were there totally frustrated have never yet, so far as we can find, been discerned in their fullest extent. Cromwell's own despatch of the 30th August, and those written by his Generals, speak of no more than a desire to see, once and for all, whether the Scotch could not be persuaded to engage. But, though this larger project is nowhere expressly stated in print—as indeed it is but natural that Cromwell should have kept silence when nothing had come of it—there are the best of reasons for

* All necessary confirmation of this view of the strategic importance of the place in question is to be found in a Cromwellian letter, which states that 'the House is occupied by a party of ours, it being of great concernment *in order to a passe towards Queen's Ferry*.'

supposing he was still half-hoping by this march to effect the lodgment on the Firth above Edinburgh, at Queensferry for choice, which we have seen him to have had in view earlier. How otherwise did it come about that on this 27th of August, 'Mr Rushworth . . . was up the *Frith* with provisions, almost at *Queensferry*?'* The Secretary would hardly have risked, of his own notion, a distant cruise in waters not by any means free from hostile craft. He must have been under orders to do so, 'with provisions;' and that he should have been on the Firth shows clearly enough, we take it, that his chief still cherished the ulterior design of establishing himself far up the shores of the Forth, in the event of his being able to outflank Leslie's position on Corstorphine hill and so make his way to the sea. It was a gallant idea; and success in the scheme would certainly have forced on, sooner than it did actually come about, the battle for which the Parliamentarians were longing and praying.

The first thing to be discovered, however, was what sort of answer Leslie would make to this advance of his enemies. The Parliamentarians had not long to wait for it. From the hillside looking down over the strath, and from the strath looking up to the hillside, the two armies must respectively have had a clear view of one another's movements. Setting out in the full hope of a general engagement before sunset, Cromwell's men may be imagined as splashing gleefully enough through the Slate Ford. It is recorded that 'divers' of them had 'cast away their bisket, with their tents, out of a confidence they should then fight,'—a waste of scarce provender perhaps permissible if their leaders were counting on those supplies of Rushworth's, far ahead, and resolved to make their way to where they would be accessible. From the water of Leith the English may have marched on that bee-line, already spoken of, which in its north-westward extension crossed the point of junction of the Linlithgow-Stirling and Bathgate-Airdrie roads, and, continued straight onwards in the same direction, terminated at which we conceive to have

* *Mercurius Politicus*, where the date is (obviously wrongly, from the context) given as the 28th.

been Cromwell's ultimate objective—Queensferry. Or they may have made more of a detour westwards along the valley, wheeling due north, from somewhere near the present Gogar railway station, when Leslie's intentions became clear. Either route is compatible with the statement that the opposing armies marched 'side by side' westwards; but the latter is the more likely one to have been taken, in order that it might arouse alarm and suspicion in the Scotch camp. In any case, the two forces impinged upon each other at just the point which a study of Cromwell's intentions would have led one to anticipate. Leslie had descended the hill and moved westward; and the necessity of covering the junction of the high roads above mentioned, not less than the circumstance that the nature of the ground at that point suited his plans, determined his taking up position at Gogar.

He had not had far to come to find ground still more inaccessible to a numerically weaker enemy than even the slopes of Corstorphine. Difficult though it may now be to conjure up an exact picture of the locality as it was in those days, it is easily to be gathered that the 'fenny' character of it (to quote the adjective in one English account of the affair) afforded just such a stronghold as favoured Leslie's plan of action. Certain words already quoted are almost exactly applicable here: he had the advantage of lying 'fenced with rivers and defiles.' It would be idle to pretend at this time of day to pronounce with exactitude which particular piece of water it was that stalled off Cromwell's advance. That task may be left to the 'antiquarian topographer' to whose notice Carlyle long since recommended this day's doings. Let him note (if he have eyes for them) the large and aged willows which remain even now scattered here and there over the corner of land between the northward-flowing Almond and its tributary the Gogar burn—relics which testify to the marshy character of the ground thereaway ere it became, as now, well tilled land. Let him bear in mind (as it is little likely he will miss doing) the history of the Lamp burning o' nights in olden times at Corstorphine Kirk hard by, to be a guide to travellers belated in the surrounding bogs; and gather from that that

the low-lying fields skirting the west side of Corstorphine hill were kittle ground for a single wayfarer in those times, let alone an army. These two sign-posts, so different in their way, indicate roughly the place where Leslie lay in his fastness, with swamps along his front and flanks, and only at one place a narrow neck of hard ground (as we gather) leading across them. More precisely still, our topographer will very probably determine, after study of the contemporary map of 'Lothian and Linlitquo' published in an Amsterdam atlas, and conveniently reprinted in our own country within the last three years, that this neck of land was between Gogar burn and the large sheet of water figured there as extending westwards from Corstorphine Kirk to within a short distance (allowing for the vagueness of the seventeenth century cartographer and the poverty of his resources for exact definition) of the stream. The inquirer is not bound down to anything by the possibly absurd tradition that a field somewhat to the west of this got its name of 'The Flashes' from the Scotch General of Artillery having in this action put in use there, for the very first time, new cannon of surprising power—though, if the legend were true,* it would be a 'document' tending to confirm this conjectural account, since 'the Flashes' must have been within cannon-shot of the neck of ground just alluded to.

There, or thereabouts, at all events, the English found their plans entirely frustrated by what one of them calls 'this very unexpected hand of Providence'—the intervention, to wit, of the bogs. There 'was discovered such a bog on both our wings of horse,' says this authority, 'that it was impossible to pass over.' 'The ground was so fenny that the *Horse* fell in,' is the graphic, if terse, explanation given by the *Mercurius Politicus* on the strength of other 'reports.' 'A passe, where there was a boggy ground of each side,' is another Cromwellian General's description of Leslie's vantage-ground; and perhaps as definite an account as any is the rather quaint one contained in another part of the newspaper already quoted.

* And James Grant's reminder that the cannonade went on in the dusk lends it some colour, not to say picturesqueness.

'There was a *deepe passe* betweene them, very disadvantagious to the *first Attempter*. The *Scots* army stood in *Battalia* on the advantagious side of the *Passe*.' It was, in one way of looking at it, the irony of fate. Here was Cromwell, the fenman, brought by his destiny to the land of brown heath and shaggy wood; and a piece of country that cannot but have reminded him of his native Huntingdon, sufficed to send agee all his well-laid plans! The rebuff may well have seemed fatal at the time. No road was now open save that of retreat. At Gogar there was but the poor consolation (recorded by Hodgson) of dispersing by cannon shot certain Scotch skirmishers who had occupied 'some sheep-folds between the armies'—an occurrence which led to the raising of that English shout of which Carlyle, by a stretch of imagination, speaks as 'making their Castle rocks and Pentland's ring again.' An interchange of artillery fire at long range until dusk, renewed for a brief hour the following morning, was all that could be attempted. Leslie the patient had triumphed for the present; and there was nothing left for it but the homeward road to Dunbar and (could the English have foreseen it) 'one of the most signal mercies God hath done for England and His people, this War.'

It is curious to reflect that those left behind, victims to Colonel James Weemyss' 'light ordinance shooting from ane quarter of ane pund bullet to ane demi-cannon that carries a threttie tuo pund shot, and other engynes of war,' may, for aught we know, have mingled their dust with that of a people very much more ancient. For the district around is singularly rich in memorials of the dead who died ere history was. The cists and other remains found in notable numbers in the fields about the junction of the Almond and Gogar waters, bear witness to the past existence of 'a densely-populated province immediately to the south of the wall of Antoninus.' And (though it is an idle fancy enough), as one looks about one on the spot where, in the most northerly of those fields, stands the 'Catstane,' well known to antiquaries, there is every temptation to forget the interesting early Christian inscription on that old-time sepulchral monument, and think of the hoary boulder, instead, as a possible memorial of the Cromwellian skirmish fought not so far away. WILLIAM S. DOUGLAS.

Art. IV.—THE COUNCIL OF CLERMONT AND THE FIRST CRUSADE.

THIS is a year of centenaries. For England it is the sixth centenary of what is, in some respects, her first true parliament—a parliament brought into being by her greatest king, the hero of the Last Crusade. For Italy it is the third centenary of the death of her greatest epic poet, the Homer of the First Crusade. For France and Western Europe generally it has a higher interest still; for next November will be the eighth centenary of the Council of Clermont—the starting-point of the First Crusade and all later ones: the origin of a movement which was as potent in its effect upon the mediæval world as the French Revolution has been upon the modern.

Like the Revolution of 1789 the Crusades were essentially French in their inception and mainly French in their execution. But, like the Great Revolution, they affected other lands profoundly. In France, towards the close of the eleventh century, population was constantly tending to outgrow the actual produce, if not the latent capacity of the soil. Hence for eighty years before the First Crusade she had been sending out swarms of adventurers to South and North and East. Nor were these movements confined to the greater expeditions such as those which, under Robert Guiscard, conquered Southern Italy or, under William of Normandy conquered Southern Britain. Already in 1018 had Roger de Toeny left his Norman home 'to slay the Saracen in Spain.'* There, too, half a century later wandered his son Ralph, the standard-bearer of the same duchy—the hero who refused to carry the Duke's banner at Hastings on the plea that his right hand could find better work upon that fateful day.† To Spain too went William of Aquitaine with many a Southern knight to

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*Adhemar of Chabannais ap. Pertz Scriptores Rer. Germ., Vol. IV., p. 140; Cf. Ord. Vitalis, I., 180, II., 64.

† Orderic Vitalis, (ed. Le Prévost), II., pp. 148, 141; Wace, Roman de Rou ed. Andresen.

win Barbasto from the Moors.* Nor could the First Crusade itself entirely turn men's thoughts from the Ebro to the Jordan. Twice in the course of a long life did the ex-Crusader Rotrode Count of Mortaigne, the stepson of our English Henry I., go there to help his cousin King Alfonso.† It was a French noble who laid the foundations of modern Portugal; it was a Norman knight who rebuilt the ruined city of Tarragona; and it was a Norman lady who, like a second Camilla clad in coat of mail and warrior's helm, paced the city ramparts in her lord's absence to guard them from surprise.‡

To Constantinople the French flocked in greater numbers still. Thither went Ursel of Balliol,§ the ill-fated King-maker of the Eastern Empire; thither went Robert Guiscard's nephew Harvey, and his son Guy. There too was Robert Crispin,‖ member of a house so famous in the annals of France and Normandy—the typical soldier of fortune of his age—who had fought against the Moors in Spain; against the Greeks in Italy; and against the Turks in Asia Minor—closing his adventurous life in the Imperial city, cut off by Greek poison at the very summit of his success.** There too flocked the English exiles after Hastings; and there, last of all, went one whose name, flashing across the pages of a monkish rhetorician, serves to remind us that even the most tasteless of monastic compilers had a human heart within his breast: for Constantinople gave a welcome to Guibert de Nogent's boy-playmate Matthew—the Bayard of his time and country—over whose martyr-death Guibert mourns with such unaffected sorrow.†† And the same movement may be traced beyond the bounds of Christendom into lands that owed obedience to the Seljuk Turk. The hand of William the Conqueror stretched far, and

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* *Chronicon Sancti Maxentii Pictavensis*, (ed. Marchegai), p. 403.

† *Ord. Vit.*, V., p. 2, 3, 5.

‡ *Ord. Vit.*, V., pp. 8-12.

§ *Michael Attaliotes*, (ed. Bonn), pp. 148, 183, etc.

‖ *Michael Attal.*, pp. 122, 144, etc.

** *De Genere nobili Crispinorum ap. Migne.* Vol. CL., p. 147; *Aimé Histoire de li Normant*, pp. 12-13.

†† *Guibert de Nogent Gesta Dei per Francos*, Bk. IV., *cid.*, c. 18.

his anger burned to the utmost limit of the Latin world. As Robert of Normandy was pitching his tents outside Jerusalem an Arab-speaking knight came up, offering service as if to one who was his natural lord. Robert welcomed the stranger, who soon unfolded the secret of his life. He was Hugh Budnel the Norman, who being wronged by the Countess Mabel of Belesme, had forced his way into her chamber and there stabbed her as she lay upon her couch weak from the exhaustion of a bath. From Normandy the assassin fled to his fellow-Normans in Apulia; from Apulia to Sicily; from Sicily to Constantinople. But everywhere he found a French-speaking world about him; and the Conqueror's envoys plotted the fugitive's destruction in the Eastern Rome as though it had been Rouen itself. At last, Hugh was driven to take refuge with the Saracens; and lived among them, speaking their language till, tiring of his long exile, he came to crave forgiveness for his crime from William's son, Robert, in the camp before Jerusalem.* To such an extent had the French-speaking race spread itself over Southern Europe in days before the First Crusade. It was the Council of Clermont, leading up as it did to that Crusade, that in some sense put an end to the movements of which we have been speaking, though in another sense it started them on a fresh and far more vigorous career. Till 1095 these movements were sporadic, desultory, almost individual; after that date they at least tended to become definite in aim, national and at times almost œcumenical.

Urban II. must have been astonished at the success which attended his exhortations at the Council of Clermont. Those who study the decrees of this council and that of Piacenza, cannot help noticing how the Crusading element is kept in the background, so far as official recognition goes.† It seems to be something outside the direct business of Piacenza; and, though

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* *Ord. Vit.*, II., pp. 410-11; III., 597-8.

† Labbé's *Concilia*, Vol. XX., pp. 802-10, 815-19; *Chron. Bernoldi, ap. Pertz*, Vol. V., pp. 457-8, 463-4.

it was most probably the secret mainspring at Clermont, here too there is only one half casual allusion to it in the conciliar decrees. Possibly the idea of a Crusade on a grand scale only unfolded itself gradually. And, if this be so, it would seem only natural that the degree of countenance given to the movement should be strictly proportioned to the extent to which, in popular phraseology, it 'caught on.' Piacenza taught Urban that some such movement *might* be a success, Clermont shewed that it probably *would* be one. But, even at Clermont, no great secular lord took the cross, excepting Raymond of Toulouse. The enthusiasm of the crowd had, it is true, been roused easily; but it might flicker down as suddenly as it had blazed up, and, till it burnt with a strong and steady flame, it was hardly to be expected that a Council of the Universal Church should take upon itself the full responsibilities for so solemn an undertaking.

We have two reports of Urban's speech at the Council of Clermont from the pens of those who heard it. These reports, though differing in details, are to the same general effect. Both lay stress on the turbulence, the poverty, the perverted energies of the time, and both make Urban lay special stress on the dangers of a redundant population, as though his skilful finger touched the seat of the disease of which France was sickening, and his prudent mind devised a remedy:—

'You inhabit a narrow land pent in between mountain and sea—a land unfertile, that scarcely yields the necessaries of life to those who till it. Your numbers overflow, and hence it is that you waste away your strength in mutual warfare. Let these home discords cease. Start upon your way to the Holy Sepulchre. Snatch that land from the accursed race and hold it for your own. It is a land flowing with milk and honey, a land fruitful beyond all other lands, a paradise of delights.' *

Such were Urban's arguments as reported by Robert the Monk. Not unsimilar are those attributed to the same orator by Baldric of Dol: Christendom was Israel's heir in Palestine, and so had a legal right to oust the Saracen intruder from a soil every field of which had felt the pressure of Christ's actual

* Robert the Monk: *Historia Hierosolimitana*, I., cc. 2-3.

foot, or been hallowed by His shadow as He passed along. All round Urban, as he spoke, stood the ring of stalwart warriors, each girt with the belt that marked his knightly rank. How, he indignantly asked, were *they* busying themselves in those fateful days? Plundering their weaker brethren, quarrelling among themselves, robbing the widow and the orphan:

'For which reason we bid you stay your hands from the slaughter of your kin, and take up arms against an alien race. Christ Himself will be your leader,' so the Pontiff's words rang out, 'as, more valiantly than the Israelites of old, you fight for your Jerusalem. If you perish before reaching the Holy City it matters not; for God is a sure Paymaster whether at the first or the eleventh hour.'*

Thus with Baldric of Dol, as with Robert the Monk, the Papal argument is the same. Both diagnose the same disease, both prescribe the same remedy. How far that remedy was successful, how far it failed, can only be appreciated by those who know whither France was tending under Philip I. at the close of the eleventh century, when the First Crusade started, and what she had become under Philip IV., when the last Crusade was over. The Council of Clermont made the kingdom of mediæval France possible, and it must not be forgotten that, directly the Crusading age was over, France once more entered on an era of turbulence and disorder, and once more became a prey to evils of the same kind, though under a different form, as those from which the First Crusade gave her at least a temporary relief. Had it been feasible in the fourteenth century to revive the Crusading enthusiasm of the eleventh, it is just possible that there might never have been a Hundred Years' War.

The First Crusade resulted in the establishment of a second France in the Levant. With the foundation of this new kingdom the horizon of Western Europe suddenly became enlarged. Hardly an English county, hardly a French town, but sent its contingent to the Holy Land; and these travellers, passing to and fro, gradually lost the rust of their former insularity or

* Baldric of Dol: *Historia Jerosolimitana*, I., c. 4.

provincialism. The peaceful pilgrim to Jerusalem, such as Abbot Aldbold of St. Edmund's, could glory in a special title, 'Hierosolymitanus;'* while the warrior who had fought God's battles in the East acquired such a military prestige as he would never have gained at home. The English chronicler speaks almost with bated breath of the stubborn valour of Duke Robert's host at Tenchebrai, telling how long and how bravely this scanty handful of warriors—men who had served their military apprenticeship against the Turk in Syria, men '*assueti bellis Jerosolymitanis*'†—kept up its desperate onset on the English foot. It was the same in matters not military. The day of provincial reputations was passing away, and the same chronicler tells us twice over that King Henry's chief councillor, Robert Earl of Mellent (ob. 1118) was '*the wisest man of all that dwelt between England and Jerusalem.*'‡

The Crusading movement exercised a special influence in intellectual matters, nor need we offer any lengthened apology if, in a year which celebrates the centenary of Tasso's death as well as that of the Council of Clermont, we give the space at our disposal to the consideration of its effects on literature in its two great branches of poetry and history.

First of all as regards Poetry. The two Crusading centuries saw an outburst of poetical activity such as the world had hardly known before. Out of a hundred *chansons de geste*, only one can with any degree of confidence be pronounced, in its present form, to be of pre-Crusading date. Nearly all the rest assumed their present form in the fervour of the new life that the Crusades called into being. The First Crusade itself became the centre of a great epic cycle. Richard the Pilgrim told the story of the leaguer of Antioch in verse for the people of Northern France; § Gregory Bechada told it in Provencal

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* *Ord. Vit.*, IV., p. 429.

† *Henry of Huntington* (ed. Arnold) p. 235.

‡ *Ibidem*, pp. 240 and 306.

§ See Paulin Paris's ed. of *Chanson d'Antioch*, Vol. II. and preface to Vol. I.

for those of Southern France.* The one poet certainly, the other probably, had been upon the first Crusade himself. The minstrel found a welcome everywhere in castle and market-place as he sung for French-speaking folk the story of their kinsmen's valour in the unknown East, and enthusiasm would rise to fever-heat as the poet wove into his song the name of some local hero who, as the audience knew full-well, had borne a part in that glorious enterprise. The man thus honoured was expected to be no niggard, and if he did not reward the singer in a fitting way he might find his name omitted from the poem. So it happened to Arnold, lord of Ghisnes and Ardres. One minstrel, coming to his castle, coveted a certain pair of scarlet shoes, and claimed them as his fee. Being met with a flat refusal, the spiteful gleeman struck this lord's name out of his poem. No wonder that Arnold's kinsman, who has preserved this story for our amusement, breaks out into a fierce denunciation of the whole tribe of 'singing lads and songmen,' who, in their avarice and lust for gain, would never scruple to defraud the noblest warrior of his fame †

The Crusading influence extended far beyond the cycle of poems dealing with the First Crusade. It must have helped very largely in the general awakening of the poetic instinct that found an outlet in the cycles of Arthur and Charlemagne. Indeed, a semi-Crusading element makes its appearance in most of the greater *chansons de geste*. One chanson takes Charlemagne and his paladins to Jerusalem, another takes Renaud de Montauban there; Huon of Bordeaux has his adventures in the East; Bevis of Hampton wins the love of an Emir's daughter. It is much the same with the nameless author of Baldwin de Sebourg, that Ariosto of the fourteenth century. Nor is a similar element altogether absent from the two most graceful of mediæval love-stories, 'Floire et Blanchefleur' and 'Aucassin and Nicolette.' The spiritual text-book

* Geoffrey of Vigeois ap. Labbé's *Bibliotheca Nova MSS.*, II., pp. 296, 308, etc.

† Lambert of Ardres, ap., *Pertz*, XXIV., pp. 626 7.

of mediæval chivalry, *Hugh de Tabarie*, has for its leading characters a great Crusading lord and Saladin himself; while the favourite subject for mediæval tapestry or scenic display was the half-mythical contest known as the '*Pas d'armes de Saladin.*'

If poetry benefited much from the Crusading movement, History benefited more. Besides the 'History' proper, Western Christendom, between the age of Charlemagne and the Council of Clermont, had two forms of historical composition flourishing in full vigour—the chronicle and the biography. A third—of which William of Poitiers' *Gesta Guilielmi* is a specimen—was just coming in. At the close of the thirteenth century, when the last Crusade had ended, Europe had expanded the chronicle into unexampled fulness; she had re-created the historical monograph; she had invented the historical romance; and out of the hardly-existent 'gesta' had developed, on a strictly Crusading theme, the masterpiece of mediæval letters, the greatest historical work since the days of Tacitus, William of Tyre's *Historia de rebus transmarinis.*

Nor did the Crusading movement only affect the character of the work done. It brought new labourers into the field. It broke the historical monopoly of the sedentary monk and canon; and, if it could not altogether oust them from the field, it forced them to enlarge their view of things; and placed by their side a rival in the travelled priest and chaplain. Then, thanks to the wider interest that they evoked and the larger audience they created, the Crusades ultimately called into existence a third power to be the rival of monk and priest alike: with Ernoul and Villehardouin, with Joinville and Philippe de Nevaire they made a popular historical literature possible; and, by breaking down the Latin barrier which the clergy had jealously built round the sources of historic truth, gave the people free access to what has always been accounted the most generally acceptable form of serious literature.

And this change of workers involved a complete change of treatment, and of style and ultimately of subject. The monk

in his cloister was out of touch with the great lay world of which he wrote; its interests and ambitions were not his. He wrote of nearly all things from the outside. Hence the dullness of his work; hence its almost total lack of human sympathy. Far more favourably situated was the secular priest. He at least spoke with laymen every day; went in and out among them; moved from house to house and heard the tales brought home by those members of his flock who had followed their lords to the war. With the first Crusade he began to enter on his *true* literary heritage. The ordinary monk could not quit his cell to follow the great Crusading barons to the East. The secular priest could and did. He shared in all the hardships and the triumphs of the long march from Chartres or Orleans to Antioch and Constantinople; and it was from his hand that the first original accounts of the expedition came. This change in the recorder involved a change of treatment that was of supreme moment. Eye-witnesses were now recounting in fullest detail things that they themselves had seen. History suddenly became intensely interesting and, from this time forward, tended to throw over the form of the chronicle or, where still holding to the form, began to change its spirit. It became a living narrative recorded by those who had closely watched the course of the events they undertook to tell; not a lifeless enumeration of isolated facts known by hearsay only. A strong personal element came into play.

Stronger still did this personal element grow when, some hundred years after the Council of Clermont, the secular priest himself failed to satisfy men's cravings after incident. It was no longer sufficient to have seen the noble deeds of others and to record them for the learned few in Latin. Every town and every village of Northern France and Flanders had some adventurous native who had fought with Baldwin at Adrianople or with Louis at Mansurah; and the Crusading Age produced its greatest effect on literary matters when the actual soldier who had fought God's battles in the East took up his pen to record the story of his own exploits in his own language for his friends at home. From this moment the personal note in history became dominant as it had never been

before. The lovers of history multiplied a hundred fold. The Crusades had done much for historical literature when they set up Fulcher of Chartres, the travelled priest, alongside of Lambert of Herzfeld, the monk; they did more when alongside of Fulcher of Chartres, the secular priest, they set up Geoffrey of Villehardouin, the baron, and Robert of Clari, the knight. Such, in short, were the effects produced upon historical literature by the Crusading movement. We propose to work out a few of these effects in greater detail.

First, as regards the chronicle. Without entering upon any fine-drawn distinction between 'Annals' and 'Chronicles' we may briefly describe this class of literature as consisting of the curtest possible notes on a series of almost entirely disconnected events—events whose only bond of union was that they all occurred in one year. As a type we will take a few lines from one of the better rather than the worse eleventh century chroniclers—Hermann of Reichenau :—

'1046 A.D. Rex natale Domini in Saxonia apud Goslare celebrat. Magna mortalitas multos passim extinxit. Eggihardus marchio ditissimus subito moriens prædiorum suorum regem reliquit heredem. Rex paschale festum apud Trajectum urbem Fresiæ egit,' etc., etc.

The vices of this style of composition are obvious. It is lifeless, pointless, disconnected; utterly without human interest. After reading such matter for five minutes the strongest brain would begin to reel and ask whence it all flowed and whither it was all tending. It has one merit indeed, that of brevity. But the writer had evidently no sympathy with the events he was recording. They have no unity of thought or plan; they were not meant for popular reading. Hermann and most of his class are outside the events they chronicle. Their heart is not in their work. They do not feel the things they write of. *The personal element is almost entirely wanting.*

It was the work of the First and other Crusades to change all this. Fulcher of Chartres, the chronicler of the First Crusade *par excellence*, was no mere dawdler dreaming in his cell. He 'saw the great world East and West.' He visited Rome and Constantinople with Robert of Normandy; with

Baldwin I. he started on the romantic expedition to Edessa: with Baldwin he traversed Palestine from North to South and pushed his adventurous journey to the deserts east of the Dead Sea. His personality and his personal experiences light up every page. He had seen the First Crusaders take their last farewell of wife and child and friend. At Lucca he had received the benediction of the lawful pope; at Rome he shuddered to see the hirelings of an anti-pope standing with bare swords in their hands as they snatched the pilgrim's offerings from St. Peter's altar in St. Peter's own church. As he lay prostrate in prayer he heard the robbers' footsteps trampling the great beams overhead and trembled as they hurled down stones upon the worshippers below. He sorrowed when the great ship went down with its living freight in the harbour of Brindisi on Easter Day; and with his comrades he cried out shame upon those faint-hearted pilgrims, who, taking fright at this disaster, weakly sold their bows and turned their steps homeward when their feet had hardly crossed the threshold of their journey. At times his words have the ring of actual suffering, as in his account of the weary marches from Edessa to Jerusalem:—

'Oftimes were we sorely distressed with extreme heat and torrent rain; nor did the scanty sunshine last long enough to dry our dripping clothes.* I saw many pilgrims who had no tents perish with cold. I Fulcher, being present among them, on one day saw many folk of both sexes and a vast number of beasts perish in the cold and rain.' 'And that day did we lack rest and all other good things; nor could we get water for our thirsty cattle.† *And I, for my part, wished myself safe back at Chartres or Orleans, as did many another pilgrim too.*'

More lifelike still are Fulcher's accounts of battle scenes and panic. In his pages we can live through the terror and anxiety of the first few years after the conquest of Jerusalem as though we had been there ourselves. We hear the news that some tall ship has just put in to Jaffa from the West; and hurry down to the harbour to learn if any of the new-comers hail from our own Chartres or Blois. Whenever a fresh vessel sails in 'we go out in procession to greet the fresh arrivals as

* *Fulcher of Chartres*, I., c. 33. † *Ibid.*, II., c. 2.

though they were saints,' eagerly catechising each stranger as to his nation and kindred.* With Fulcher we can see that little band of three hundred knights surrounded by Saracen hosts 'innumerable as locusts;'† with him we can strain anxious eyes across the blue Mediterranean in search of help that seems so long in coming; with him we can watch the hero-king *(sicut ipse propius astans cernebam)* strike down one opposing Arab with his white pennoned lance and, wrenching out his weapon from the corpse, pass on to slay a second;‡ we can hear the great bell of Jerusalem toll forth its summons to the war; and we can follow Fulcher himself as he passes barefooted in the long procession from church to church—offering up our prayers for the success of those who, twenty miles off at Ramleh, are fighting for our God and king.§

Nor are these the only points that mark out Fulcher from the herd of eleventh century chroniclers. He was a curious observer of natural phenomena. As he passed by the Dead Sea with his patron King Baldwin he noted that its waters were so salt that 'neither beast nor bird would drink of them.' 'And of their saltness did I, Fulcher, assure myself by actual experiment; for I got down from my mule and, taking up a mouthful of water in my hand, tasted it and found it more bitter than hellebore.'‖ He did not accompany Baldwin on his adventurous expedition to the Red Sea; but he eagerly questioned those who did, and examined the little treasures of shells and pebbles they could show him.** He noticed how the Saracens had established a pigeon post from city to city;†† and how the ways of the East differ from those of the West, as 'the ways of France differed from those of England.' 'In Palestine,' he writes, 'I have never seen a whale or a lamprey or a magpie.'‡‡ But, on the other hand, Palestine and Egypt had their own varieties in the crocodile and the hippo-

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* *Fulcher of Chartres*, II., c. 6.
† *Ibid.*, II., c. 6.
‡ *Ibid.*, II., c. 11.
§ *Ibid.*, II., c. 31.
‖ *Ibid.*, II., c. 5.
** *Ibid.*, II., c. 56.
†† *Ibid.*, III., c. 47.
‡‡ *Ibid.*, III., c. 48.

potamus, and that still stranger beast * which 'we all saw at Nablus, but whose name was known to none.' †

Fulcher of Chartres is indeed the forerunner of a new order of chroniclers. His work is not a collection of disconnected facts; it partakes of the nature of history. He belongs to the world that is coming in as well as to the world that is dying out. If he reaches out one hand towards Marianus Scotus or Florence of Worcester, he stretches out the other towards William of Malmesbury and Roger of Howden. Nor indeed is it his least title to fame that he is one of the very few contemporary writers of whom William of Malmesbury makes a very copious use, and to whom that historian is indebted for some of his liveliest pages. As a secular priest he had at least one great advantage over most of his compeers; he had mingled in the great world as no recluse could do; he could sympathize with its hopes and fears; and, above all else, he could introduce into his work that large personal element which is almost entirely wanting in most of his predecessors and contemporaries.

Besides developing the chronicle the First Crusade re-created the short historical monograph. The historical monograph in its longer form dates at least from the days of Thucydides. On the smaller scale it flourished in Rome where its two most famous examples are Sallust's two histories of *Catiline's Conspiracy* and *The Jugurthine War*. For the perfection of this species of literature two things are necessary: unity of subject and completeness of plot. The short historical monograph must have a definite beginning and a definite end. It is not every age that offers a really fine subject for such treatment; and when the earlier Middle Ages presented such a subject it was seldom embraced by a contemporary who had taken part in the movement he undertook to record.

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* This last, however, can hardly have been indigenous. It was possibly a yak.

† *Fulcher of Chartres*, III., cc. 48 and 49.

Such a subject, however, was presented by the First Crusade —a subject of stupendous importance and of universal interest, and yet one which, like the struggle between Athens and Sparta, lent itself to a strictly artistic treatment, having a definite beginning, middle, and ending. So unique an opportunity was not lost, and the history of the First Crusade has been told by something like a dozen contemporaries, five of whom at least regard it as a single distinct movement beginning with the Council of Clermont and ending with the capture of Jerusalem or the battle of Ascalon. Not a few of these twelve historians were themselves present at the scenes they describe; all had talked with those who were; and that which strikes the reader when he compares the most valuable of these monographs with the mass of eleventh century chronicles is (1) that they have a definite story to tell—many of them a real plot to work out; and (2) that they describe the movement from the inside and not from the outside only. The personal element is not altogether absent even from the comparatively cold pages of the *Gesta Francorum;* it literally palpitates in those of Tudebode, as for instance, when he tells us of his brother's death:

'On that Friday was wounded a most valiant knight, Harvey Tudebode,* whom his comrades bore down within the city. And there he lingered till the Saturday between twelve and three—when he passed away from this world to live with God. And his body did his brother, Peter Tudebode, the priest, bury hard by the western gate of St. Peter's Church—*being all the time in the the utmost peril of his life,* as were also his fellow-Christians in the city. And we pray all those who shall hear or read these words to offer alms and put up prayers for the soul of Harvey, and the souls of all other pilgrims who died on their way to Jerusalem.'

From Raymond of Agiles—like Tudebode and Fulcher, a secular priest—this personal element is hardly ever absent. With him we seem flung back fifteen hundred years to the days of Herodotus. Indeed, some of Raymond's sentences might have fallen from the pen of the Father of History himself. They have something of his credulity, something of his

* *Tudebode,* Theme X., c. 8.

honesty, occasionally something of his shrewdness. Both insist on the distinction between things seen and things heard; though where Herodotus's motto was: ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες: Raymond's would have been ἐμοὶ μὲν πιστὰ λέγοντες. No mediæval writer had a more passionate devotion to truth in the abstract than Raymond of Agiles; though in the concrete it sometimes presented itself under the strangest of guises. Here is his solemn attestation when he lost his dearest friend and patron at the siege of Arkah:—

'And there did our men suffer labours such as they had never undergone before; and there did we lose knights of such noble birth and character that it is a most grievous thing to record their death. There, among the rest, was slain lord Pontius de Baladun with a stone from a stone-bow: the lord at whose request I undertook to write this work for the instruction of all orthodox Christians—especially such as live beyond the Alps. And now I must needs strive with the help of God, who does all things, to bring it to completion as I should have gladly done had he remained alive. Wherefore I pray all those who shall read my words to believe that things took place as I have written them. And if I record anything that I have not seen and do not believe to be true, or add anything through love or hatred, may God assign me all the pains of Hell and blot out my name from the Book of Life. For though I may be ignorant of many another thing, one thing I do know, that, as I took the office of priesthood on me during the course of this Crusade, I am bound to serve God by telling the truth rather than by weaving lies.' *

And to other people Raymond accords the same unquestioning trust that he asks his readers to accord him. He did not see the bird flutter over the head of Peter Bartholomew as he plunged into the flaming pile; nor perhaps would he have reckoned it a miracle if he had. But he believes the story because it was testified to by two such 'good' men as 'Everard the priest'—a man who, 'for the love he bore God, remained in Jerusalem' when his fellows went back home—and William the knight. True, he did not witness the wonder himself, though he was on the spot. But that is easily explained: 'There was a great crowd round the place *and all men cannot see all things*.' †

Thus, almost immediately after the Council of Clermont, the short historical monograph was re-created in the pages of the

* *Raymond of Agiles*, c. 15. † *Ibid.* c. 18.

anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, of Tudebode, of Raymond of Agiles; as well as in those of Baldric of Dol and Robert the monk. At first it was told in Latin only. But, as the popular thirst for information grew greater, men could no longer satisfy their longings for news of what their kinsmen were doing in the remote East at the half-fabulous streams of mediæval poetry (the *chansons de geste*), or the locked fountain of a dead language. They clamoured for truth in truth's native prose. There rose a complaint that, as a thirteenth century writer phrases it, '*rhyme leads to the addition of words that are not in the original*,' Latin. And so the same movement that at the beginning of the twelfth century gave us the Latin monographs on the First Crusade, at the beginning of the thirteenth gave us Villehardouin's French monograph on the Fourth. Later still, it gave birth to Philip de Nevaire's *Estoire de la Guerre entre l'emperor Frederic et Johan d'Ibelin*, the masterpiece of its kind; and later still to Joinville's inimitable work. Thus were the foundations of French prose laid, and the next century saw the completion of the *Chroniques de St. Denis*. The monographs on the First Crusade were the seeds from which grew the earliest harvest of French prose.

Even before the Council of Clermont Europe was beginning to evolve the 'Gesta'—a species of historical composition that it is very difficult to distinguish from the History properly so-called. It was the work of the First Crusade to give us what, had it been completed, would have been the finest of all these Gesta, and to develope the Gesta, as it existed in such rhetorical and formless works as William of Poitiers' *Gesta Wilielmi*, into the greatest historical work of the Middle Ages—the greatest History since the days of Tacitus—William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*.

Of all contemporary writers of the First Crusade Ralph of Caen had the finest natural gifts and the loftiest conception of an historian's duties. Few historians, that ever lived, have had greater powers or, for his age, a keener insight to discern between the gold and dross of facts. 'It is a noble office to record the noble deeds of princes' are his own words; and indeed

he does record them somewhat too nobly.* In more than one way he was the Kinglake of the First Crusade. He did not, like Fulcher and Tudebode and Raymond, take a part in this Crusade himself. When Godfrey of Bouillon started for the East he was a mere youth, studying in his father's house at Caen and hardly knowing that there were such places as 'Antioch' or 'Rome' in the world. There, in the spring of 1098, he saw the red lights of the Aurora Borealis burning in the midnight sky, and, like his fellow-citizens, knew them for the messengers of some fierce battle fought beneath an Eastern sun.† Later still that East laid its spell upon him. He too would see 'the great world East and West.' He was with Boamund at the siege of Durazzo;‡ and with Tancred when he raised the siege of Edessa. There, from the greatest captains of the age, he heard the true story of the First Crusade as it appeared to them. Tancred wished him to write the history of his life; but, so long as Tancred was alive he refused to do so, on the plea that, in that prince's lifetime, he could not speak out all that was in his mind. Tancred once dead, he threw himself into the task with vigour; and, so as to get at the fullest truth possible, with a conscientiousness rare in mediæval writers, he begged his quondam tutor, Arnulf, now Patriarch of Jerusalem, to correct his MS. from the stores of his superior information. To judge from his half-completed work, he hardly need have hesitated to write it while its subject was alive; for few men, even if greedy of praise beyond all others that have breathed, would ask for a larger measure of flattery than is to be found there. Never perhaps had a mediæval historian such wonderful facilities for getting at the truth; seldom has there been an historian better qualified by his natural gifts to profit by such opportunities; seldom has any writer had a loftier conception of his office. And yet, for all Ralph's conscientiousness and all his marvellous gifts, his work comes perilously near to being a gigantic failure. Its author cannot or will not say a plain thing plainly. He is always straining after metaphor or antithesis. Even when simplest he is unnatural; in places he defies translation. At his best and shortest

* *Ralph of Caen*, Preface. † *Ibid.*, c. 57. ‡ *Ibid.*, Preface.

he will not write like other men. Does Tancred pass over the river Vardar on horseback, he crosses 'on the ship and oarage of his steed;'* while, as to the other Crusaders, they 'equorum caudis pro remigio utuntur;'† his heroes' spears are 'drunk' with slaughter; and the Christian swords 'quench their thirst in Turkish blood.' And yet, for all this stilted style he is now and then effective as only a true poet can be. Perhaps it would not be too much to say that for swing of verse and grandeur of conception certain lines in chapter lxxxix. of his only extant work are the finest in mediæval Latin poetry. They are not Virgil it is true, but they are a by no means despicable Lucan. Over and above his rhetorical vigour he is, intellectually speaking, taller by the head and shoulders than all his rivals and contemporaries. He has talked with the military leaders of the First Crusade and knows the meaning of strategy and generalship. He sees what is worth recording and he records it. He does not lose himself in an aimless flow of detail; he keeps the salient points of his story well in view; and, had he only known how to prune the exuberance of his eloquence he would have been immeasurably superior to all other Crusading historians but one.

Superior to all but one. For there is one Crusading historian of the twelfth century who stands apart from all the rest—apart from all other historians of the Middle Ages—without fellow and without second. History in the true sense of the word—half an art and half a science—was reborn into the Latin world with William of Tyre. By his side all other mediæval historians or chroniclers are dwarfed into insignificance. It is not that he is by any means a perfect historian. His judgment is often at fault; he often follows the wrong authority; every now and then he makes mistakes of his own especially in the matter of chronology; he was almost certainly a partizan, and, like Fulcher of Chartres or Robert de Monte, he does not scruple to keep silence on matters where it would have been imprudent to speak out. And yet for all his failings he is the only historian between the age of Tacitus and the Renaissance who knew what history should aim at and, knowing this, had the capacity to put his

* *Ralph of Caen*, c. 6. † *Ibid.*, c. 5.

ideal into practice. The contrast between him and even the best of his rivals, such as William of Malmesbury, is amazing. The English historian rambles on from nowhere to nowhere. He has perpetual digressions, interesting it may be in themselves, and generally curious or useful for historians of a later age—but tending in no one direction. In his pages stories of the miraculous, idle tales of dancing girls and dreaming clerks, jostle one another shoulder to shoulder till they almost elbow out the graver narrative of fact. The *Gesta Regum Anglorum* is the work of a mind inquisitive, well-stored and, in a certain way, reflective. But it is not the product of a master-intellect, still less of a perfect artist.

With the Eastern William everything is different. His work is almost epic in its plan; had its writer only lived four years longer, it might have been epic in its execution too. Its symmetry is marvellous. There are no needless digressions; fact follows fact in orderly procession, each falling into its proper place in a well-proportioned narrative. The subdivision into books and chapters is simply perfect; and, above all else, save in the matter of the Holy Lance, there is hardly a trace of the miraculous from end to end of the Archbishop's pages. At the close of a long article we cannot develop this subject any further. But the fact remains—that with William of Tyre history was reborn into the Latin world. And that Latin world was not slow to recognize the fact. It promptly turned the *Historia Rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* into French; and then into Spanish, and Italian, and English. Copies multiplied on every hand. William of Tyre's work was the first mediæval history to win popular recognition: the first, by means of translations, to gain an almost œcumenical reputation. Directly or indirectly it modified the mediæval conception of history; and rendered possible not merely the authorized court histories of Paulus Jovius and Polydore Virgil in Latin; but also vernacular histories such as the *Chronicle of St. Denis*, which has worked up into itself large passages from this source. William of Tyre, too, like Fulcher and Tudebode and Raymond of Agiles and Ralph of Caen, was not a monk but a secular priest. He too—though, being an historian in the strictest sense of the word, he

has hardly any place in his narrative for the personal element—has given us the finest example of what the mediæval chronicle and the mediæval 'gesta' could develop into when once they ceased to be the almost exclusive property of the sedentary monk and canon.

Last of all, in Albert of Aix the First Crusade created the historical romance—that form of narrative where historic truth decks itself out with all the pomp and trappings of her sister, Fiction. This peculiar product of the Middle Ages found its first expression in the *Historia Hierosolymitanæ Expeditionis* of the Canon of Aix. Nowhere else do we breathe the very atmosphere of mediæval life. Albert's work sums up in itself nearly all that gave their special charm to the Crusading age and movement. It has vitality and motion everywhere; the ring of battle is on every page; there is adventure and pathos and mystery, deeds of noble daring, hairbreadth escapes, gallant exploits, reckless feats of arms by land and sea. Like feudal society itself, it has no unity, and if it has a very effective, though somewhat legendary beginning, it has not, and perhaps was never meant to have, an equally definite end. Probably it was written not very long after the date (1119-20 A.D.), at which it somewhat abruptly breaks off; but this is a mere inference. Few works of its enormous bulk had such a popularity as Albert's history enjoyed in the Middle Ages, and it, if the statement may be predicated of any single book, formed the basis of William of Tyre's great masterpiece. Striking, however, as this honour, if it stood alone, would be, it is only a part of Albert's many titles to fame. The *Historia Expeditionis Hierosolymitanæ* is the first specimen of quite a new style of historical literature one that has given pleasure to a greater number of readers than any other that has ever existed. It would not be too much to say that Albert is the spiritual ancestor of Froissart. The Canon of Aix has all the good qualities and all the bad qualities that signalize the Canon of Chimay. Both writers have the same delight in action, the same variety of interest, the same ingenuousness, the same dramatic instinct, and, it must be added, the same vices of inaccuracy, self-contradiction, and credulity. Albert of Aix, at

least, is quite as much a poet as he is an historian, and it is curious to notice that this fact was recognised by the great Italian poet whose centenary Italy is celebrating this year at almost the same time that France is celebrating the centenary of the Council of Clermont. Tasso himself did not scorn to borrow one of his most pathetic incidents from the pages of the founder of romantic history, though we suspect that few readers of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, when they read the story of the gallant death of Sweno the Dane, have any idea that the poet drew his inspiration from this Crusading writer—just as from a somewhat similar source the old romance of 'Floire et Blanchefleur,' alluded to some pages back, he possibly borrowed the still more beautiful story as to how the tyrant of Jerusalem consented to spare the lives of Sophronia and Olindo.

And thus we work round to the point from which we started. The First Crusade produced an almost unparalleled effect upon the intellectual atmosphere of Western Europe. It enlarged her mental horizon, and gave her new interests and new ideals. From the day when Urban II. addressed the vast multitudes at Clermont, poetry began to break out into an almost unexampled activity, and that not merely on themes that were directly of a Crusading character. Along with purely imaginative literature, history felt the quickenings of the new life stirred by the First Crusade and those that followed it. These Crusades, as we have seen above, expanded the Chronicle into an undreamt of fulness. They re-created the historical monograph, they invented the historical romance, and out of the hardly-existent 'Gesta' they evolved, on a strictly Crusading theme, the greatest historical work of the Middle Ages—William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum.*

These results were obtained in a large measure by breaking down the historical monopoly of the homestaying monk and his fellows. This done, the traveller priest began to enter on his true heritage. He followed the great Crusading lords to the East, and having shared in all the perils and triumphs of the expedition, was able to tell its story with a vigour, a sympathy, and a personal note, such as were utterly wanting to the monk. This 'personal element' was as leaven to trans-

form the whole mass of historical literature. Its workings were felt on every side. Even the monkish annals began to respond to the call, and invest themselves with something of a human interest. Then, as time went on, the story of later expeditions was written, not by mere eye-witnesses, in Latin, but by the actual combatants, in French. The personal 'note' grew more dominant than ever; an order of lay historians was formed, literature tended to become a profession, and the foundations of French prose were laid.

T. A. Archer.

Art. V.—FISH-HATCHING.

AQUI-CULTURE, like Agri-culture, is a revival in Europe. Both Arts were in a high state of development in ancient Rome. But, while fish-breeding was carefully attended to, it is probable that fish-hatching—and more especially artificial fertilisation and incubation—is a modern invention. Reasoning from analogy it is difficult for us to acknowledge this, but we are without positive knowledge of its employment amongst the ancients. This departure, along with the great advance in transit, are the special modern claims in connection with the Art. For the discovery of artificially delaying incubation by lowering temperature, so as to enable ova to carry safely, has happily been contemporary with the improvement in refrigerating apparatus. So that, if conditions are suitable on the spot, there are now no insuperable difficulties in the way of transferring the most recently developed fishes, to compete in the struggle of existence with the more ancient survivals in the Antipodes, or elsewhere. Thus, we have not only successfully stocked the rivers of New Zealand with the salmon tribe—but trout have reached the Neilgherry hills of India from the Howieton ponds, and a few generations more will have redistributed the fish fauna of the world. It remains to be seen whether the fish will shew equal vitality, and

capacity to grapple with their new surroundings, that our flora and land animals have. We may also expect many curious fresh developments, such as have been indicated among the anadromous fishes of the old world in the New Zealand waters. They may lose their necessity for migrating for food, and develop variations that may ultimately prove specific. In any case, the first result of fish-culture is, that the highest product of the fresh water, both for food and sport, is becoming as universal in suitable situations, as the best grain, the best dog, or the best horse and bullock. This, however, is only the first rude step. The improvement of breeds by feeding, as well as by intercrossing, has yet to be done justice to. We have indeed to fully utilise our knowledge. We have also to be careful that desire for novelty does not lead us into false paths, as when it was sought to introduce the *Silurus* into English waters.

Whatever progress has been made has now become international in fish-culture, as in all else; for all freely give of their knowledge, and the literature of the world is open to all. The question is, how far has our knowledge gone, and to what extent has it been put in force? It is proper to use *Fish* in this connection as including all marine and fresh-water creatures, whether Crustacean or even Molluscan, as the culture of these is cognate to that of the higher forms, although these are vertebrate. We will therefore use the term in its widest sense, and see what progress has been made in this, the latest, but not the least important, of our efforts to stimulate, and improve upon, the methods of Nature.

During the middle ages, and throughout the period of the European predominance of the Church of Rome, the necessity of providing a proper supply of fish for use on Fridays and during Lent, did much to create a species of Fish-culture. That this did not extend to fish-hatching, but stopped short at enclosing and regulating the supply of fresh-water fishes seems to us probable. At the same time, the Romans were at least acquainted with the securing of oyster spat, and from this to the artificial hatching of fish ova does not seem a very long step, or one that may not really have been taken. The

probability is, however, that the cost of such artificially produced fish would have been far beyond the purses of the multitude, and the wealthy had *viviers* and ponds in which they kept their own fish for their own use. The extent to which they had gone may be judged by the system in use among the monks of the monasteries, and the great Seigneurs of the continent, which was also introduced into this country, probably by the Normans originally. The absence of proper conveyances for the supply of sea fish to the inland parts of the country made it imperative for the various proprietors to meet their own necessities. In doing so, they did not fail to discover that certain fishes required a particular kind of 'cultch' upon which to fix their spawn. As the supply of this material was an acknowledged necessity, this may be considered the first step towards fish-hatching. Seeing the information in the hands of the public with regard to what was undoubtedly at one time a most important appanage of the E glish country house is very meagre, we quote from a rare work in our possession dated 1616 (?), describing 'Of the manner of making Stewes and Pooles for keeping of fishes.'

'Therefore for the appointing out of ground for these his Pooles or Stewes to *breed* or feed his fish in, he shall choose it joining unto his Medowes, in some leane place, and such as he could otherwise make no profit of, and yet it must be in a firme ground, that is gravellie or sandie, for such places do feed fishes excellent well: notwithstanding, that the muddie and dyrtie poole be best for the Tench, Barbet, Cod (?), Eele, and such other slipperie and slimie fishes: but he that loveth his health must not furnish his Pooles or Stewes with such manner of fish. The Poole will be marvellously well seated, if the commodiousnesse of the place will afford it continuall retreshment from some flowing Fountaine, or some Brooke, or little River falling into it, whereby continually the first water may be removed, and new supplied in place thereof, not suffering the other to stand too long impounded: and therefore, if it be possible, the Poole is to have convenient issue in one part or other, for so by this means the water is renewed the more easily, and the fish therein made the more chearefull and better thriving to everie bodies sight: whereas on the contrarie, the standing and corrupted water affordeth them nothing but bad nourishment, making the flesh thereof of an ill tast, and unpleasant in eating. In the meane time you must not forget to set grates of Brasse or Yron close fastened, and pierced with but small holes in the conduits, that so by them the water may find one passage in, and another

out, and yet to stay the fish from getting forth. . . . These fish-ponds also may be made in anie low valley. . . . In this place, above all other, you shall make your fish-pond, drayning it at the dryest time of the yeare, and digging it of such depth as you shall thinke most convenient for the receit of such water as shall fall into it: then noting how the water descendeth, you shall just against that descent make the head of your pond, mounting it of such a height, that no land-water whatsoever may overflow it, and this head you shall make in this wise: first, so soon as you have drained the ground, and made the earth firme where the head must be, you shall drive in foure or five rowes of piles made of Elme, and some of *Oake halfe burnt or scortcht*, and then the earth which you digge out of the pond, together with fagots and bundells of wood, you shall ram in hard between the pile, till you have covered them, then you shall drive in more piles, and ram them likewise as before, heaping thus pile upon pile, and earth upon earth, till you have made the head of that convenient height which you did desire, and if in the middest of this head you preserve a convenient place for a sluce or floud-gate, which you may draw up and shut at your pleasure, it will be a great deal the better: and on the top of the head you shall make a small sluce or two with fine grates in them, to stay the fish from passing through the same, which sluces shall convey the wast water, which shall at any time rise above the height or levell of the bankes: the bottome and sides of this pond you shall pave all over with fine green-grasse-turfe which will be a great nourishment to the Fish, and above the water you shall plant Osiers, and on the top of the head divers rowes of Willow, because all fish take great delight in the shadow: and if you intend the pond for Carpe or Breame, you shall all along one side of the pond, stake and binde down divers fagots made of *brush-wood in which the fish shall cast their young or spawne*, and so have them preserved, which otherwise would be destroyed.'

The fish thus enclosed were carefully fed, as thus:—

'And sometimes it will be good to cast upon the pooles and ponds the fresh leaves of parsley, for these leaves doe rejoyce and refresh the Fishes that are sicke. Besides to keepe your Fish-ponds well turft as was before said, so as they may have store of greene grasse in them, is an excellent reliefe for fish, and a food which they will desire as much as any other, for they will sucke and feed upon grasse exceedingly: therefore when grasse is in the prime, and hath full bit upon it, if you gather large turfes thereof, and pin them fast downe under the water, they will feed and fatten the Fish wonderfully: the chippens of bread, or other crusts which come from the farmers table, although they be greasy and foule, yet are they a very good feed for fish; so is also the clotted bloud of beasts, as sheepe, oxen, or any other kind, being cast into the pond morning and evening; the young brood of Waspes when you find their neasts, being cast into the water, is a food that fish will delight in before any other.' [The Italics are ours.]

In the above account it is clear that the intention was to *breed*, as well as *keep*, the fish. There was a clear understanding as to this. The writers knew the species whose spawn stuck to the brushwood, and prepared for them accordingly. These seem to have been the commonest and most valued species, although now-a-days, when sea-fish are so plentiful, they are little valued in this country. We refer to Carp and Tench. Not only are they understood as to spawning, but they are watched over as to feeding. It is for them that the 'greene-turfe' is so carefully supplied, and although the more animal-feeders are also attended to, particularly the eels, it is to the vegetable feeders that the most of the directions specially refer. Indeed the writer elsewhere says: 'the most common, and which best store and furnish the same, are the Carpe, and the Barbell.' Many fishes are, however, described, and their habitats:

'All sorts of fishes doe not feed alike in all manner of places: the stonie and rockie places do like well the fishes called thereupon *Saxatiles*, or fishes living in stonie places, as the Trout, Pearch, Leach, Lumpe, Mullet and Gudgeons: In muckie and slimie places, the Tench, Bourbet, Codfish, and Eele doe delight to live: In gravellie and sandie grounds, the Salmon, the Pike, and the Barbel, doe not much dislike to live.'

Considerable attention had therefore been paid to the habits of these inhabitants of our fresh water, and it is probable that the knowledge of the re-discovery of artificial hatching, as made presumably by a monk in the fifteenth century, by name Dom Pinchon, had spread among those who were so largely dependent upon vivaria. This monk went the length of expressing the ova of the female and the milt of the male into water, which he then agitated to produce impregnation. This done, he placed the eggs in a wooden box, with sand on the bottom, and with osier grills on the top and at both extremities. This was then placed in gently flowing water, and kept until hatched. The observation so readily made of the operations of salmon on the natural redds, could scarcely have escaped the attention of those interested in the preservation of the supply of trout and their allies. Thus we find that quite independent experiments had been made in Norway, as well as the more known ones of Lund in Sweden, and Jacobi in

Westphalia. These latter experimenters about the middle of last century, are now looked upon as the revivers of the generally forgotten art of artificial impregnation and hatching of fishes. But we are hardly disposed to accept the conclusion that this art had ever really died, at least in its simpler departments, of permitting milt and roe to come together under suitable conditions, or collecting and hatching out the deposited, and already impregnated, ova. The presence throughout Europe of the carp, a fish that bears every evidence of long culture to meet special conditions, rather points to China where it is tamed, as the original source of our knowledge of fish-culture, in all likelihood, if not also of fish-hatching. We now know that Chinese prisoners introduced printing into Damascus under Haroun-al-Raschid, and probably other arts wandered Westward both before and since. The industry in its simplest form is a great one in China. On the Yang-tse-Kiang, in the spring, great numbers of boats assemble to purchase fish spawn, that is gathered from the river. Extensive reaches of the river are enclosed with hurdles and mats, which collect the spawn, and vases are then filled with the watery product, and carried off to all parts of the Empire. It is carried about in barrels, a sort of fat, yellow, muddy-looking liquid, in which the untrained eye can see nothing. A dish of the fluid can be purchased for a trifle, sufficient to stock a considerable pond. When thrown into the water the fish soon hatch in quantity, and after a time are fed by throwing tender herbs minced small on the surface of the water. Growing rapidly, in a month they are fed plentifully morning and evening with green stuff reaped fresh from the fields, which they come to the surface for, and devour greedily. In another fortnight they are said to reach two or three pounds weight (?), when they cease growing, and are then caught and sold alive in the market. They have thus reached in China the stage not only of sowing the ova cheaply throughout the fresh waters of the country, but also of rapidly fattening a manageable fish, as we have succeeded in doing in this country with our more quickly maturing sheep and cattle. In this country we have not yet turned our attention to this department of the subject, nor indeed has the

popularisation of Aquiculture, as regards fresh-water fish other than salmon and trout—the so-called anadromous fishes—reached such a stage as to demand such an organisation, for purposes of distribution. To mediæval fish-culture we are probably indebted for several of our species in this country, but the facilities for transit have invaded every corner of the country with sea-fish at a cheap price, and, added to the influence of Protestantism, have destroyed the former necessity for ponds or stews. The grayling is therefore in all probability the only acclimatised fish that has retained its popularity, although the vendace and other coregoni are doubtless among those introduced. It is a thankless and a useless labour seeking to trace the early attempts at fish-hatching in the various countries of Europe. Enough that the ruder natural system can be traced back through the ages, to Egypt in the one direction, and China in the other. It seems the natural result of increasing population, and consequent difficulty of obtaining animal food. As a certain amount of security is required to stimulate this, as any other cultivation, it was probably readily forgotten, or neglected, during times of disturbance. In all thickly populated countries, when fisheries are free and unregulated, they soon become valueless. The freeing of the fresh-water fisheries of India, as described by Dr. Day, resulted in their threatened destruction. This was the more easily brought about, as the waters are so controlled for purposes of irrigation, but otherwise without care and general control, the finny inhabitants were left entirely at the mercy of those whose only interest was to capture all they possibly could at the moment, lest others should enter in, and partake of the harvest. Consequently, not only the grown fish, but the fry, and in many cases the ova also, were indiscriminately gathered for food. The ova was pressed into cakes and baked. We cannot ourselves say much against this, so long as we look upon the ova—or berries—of the lobster, one of our most rapidly decreasing water animals, as an especial table dainty. However this may be, we may take it from the evidence of the tanks, and their infinite care in small produce, that the people of India formerly took more care of the water

produce than they do in these times of 'what is every body's business is nobody's business.'

While Jacobi of Westphalia is said to have received a pension from the British Government last century for his discovery of artificial incubation in Europe, we owe more to those who applied the discovery—if it can be called such—than to the inventors. An ignorant French fisherman named Remy, having in 1842, from his own observation, artificially hatched out a large quantity of trout, the attention was directed thereto of one who has done more for pisciculture than any one individual in Europe—M. Coste, then Professor of Embryology in the College of France. He was instrumental in setting on foot the famous establishment of Huningue, the great fore-runner of artificial fish culture. If the French originally obtained the idea from the Germans, Germany has now returned the compliment, for she has appropriated the establishment! But it must not be forgotten that it was to the advanced liberal views of France that Europe is indebted for this disseminating centre of the new art of fish-culture.

Following Huningue, the establishment of Stormontfield, on the Tay above Perth, was laid out by the proprietors of the river. The first hatching took place in the spring of 1854, from ova laid down the previous November. Important as have been the results from this small and economically conducted establishment, which only cost £500 to lay out; yet here the great problem that agitated the minds of fishermen and naturalists for long was solved. Was the parr a young salmon? Even such able writers as Andrew Young, Invershin, in his book on the salmon, of date 1854, shrewd and interested observer as he was, still held that the parr had no connection with the salmon-fry. That the parr became a smolt, the smolt a grilse, and the grilse a salmon, all in due time, were proved indubitably at the Stormontfield hatching ponds. These ponds and redds being in the open air, and exposed to the ordinary atmospheric influences, another point was brought forward. The lowered temperature retarded the incubation of the ova, which took some 120 days on an average to hatch. In the new covered hatchery on the same river

at Dupplin, the average time has been reduced to 66 days. This suggested that incubation could be delayed indefinitely, and the knowledge has since been employed in the system of transportation of ova to distant lands, no difficulty being now found in sending the most delicate ova with care to the Antipodes. The success of Stormontfield, with very inadequate means, was a great stimulus to the new art. For it was indeed a success: the rental of the river had fallen from £14,574 in 1828, to £7,955 in 1852. From the establishment of the hatchery it soon began to rise steadily, until by 1862 it had regained its old level. Other minor hatcheries were established on rivers here and there, with more or less success; but the most valuable result was the establishment of private hatcheries in different parts of the country, of which the most famous, and that which has been conducted both with a view to commercial success and scientific enquiry, is Howieton. Under the care of Sir James Maitland, Bart., and the outcome of his own assiduous and skilled personal attention, this fine hatchery has carried the art into a science. *The History of Howieton*, by the owner, is an epoch-making work, and has clearly proved that this country is without doubt in the very first rank in aquiculture. It will remain for the future to make use of the mass of evidence that is being tabulated with scientific accuracy, on carefully drawn-up and wisely-ordered lines, doing for scientific aquiculture what Gilbert and Lawes have been so long doing for scientific agriculture. Meantime, we have the benefit of the results of ample expenditure in capable hands, so that this private hatchery on an imperial scale has done for this country more than the Government hatchery of Huningue did for France, and still remains the model hatchery. Here every mechanical detail connected with hatching on the largest scale has been worked out to the greatest perfection. Added to this, the importance of preventing over-crowding, and the age at which the best results are obtainable from parents of different growths, the preparation of the fry for travelling, hybridisation, and many other minor details have been worked out with the utmost fidelity and reliability. Much of this knowledge is now at the command of

the modern fish-culturist, along with the equally valuable account of the failures and the reasons therefor. Previous failures elsewhere are fully explained.

'At the head of the list stand out in strong relief over-statements, caused no doubt by anxiety to claim the best possible results, and the insuperable difficulty in counting the fry; next in order, the almost total ignorance of the habits and requirements of young fish; and the difficulty of transplanting them—for their mere conveyance alive to the destination is not sufficient: they must be perfectly prepared, the temperature of the transport-tank must be kept within a few degrees of that of the stream into which they are to be turned, and the stream itself must not only be suitable for fry, but the part of the stream where they are liberated must be carefully selected. Next, in point of deadliness, the insane overcrowding of the ova, and afterwards of the fry in the trays. . . . But there is a yet more fatal cause of failure, a cause so hidden that never was it suspected until the Howieton experiments placed it beyond a doubt. *The maturity of the parents is of paramount importance in determining the chance of the offspring in the struggle for existence.* Old spawners produce strong and healthy fry; young spawners, though comparatively more prolific, produce weaker offspring, with a much smaller chance of holding their own in the waste of waters.'

As the relative ages of male and female must also be considered, it is clear that the experiments carried out at Howieton have a much wider bearing than upon fish and fisheries alone.

When we add to Howieton the work done at such important private hatcheries as that of J. J. Armistead on the Solway, the oldest in the kingdom, and conducted so as to be a commercial success, we cannot be considered second to any country in a knowledge of, and progress in, this new art. Private enterprise, then, having done so much to place us in the first rank in aquiculture, we are yet constrained to acknowledge that we have not as a nation done the best with the knowledge so freely supplied by our illustrious pioneers. There are various reasons for this. We have already seen that except in the sluggish waters of England, and for purposes of sport only, coarse fish are comparatively valueless. They cannot compete with the product of the sea, so easily distributed to the greater part of the country. In Scotland, on the other hand, while much has been done in the way of stocking our lochs

with trout, especially within range of angling societies, yet great numbers are as yet left as they were, and a want of knowledge prevails as to the proper kind of fish, the best mode of stocking waters, and the previous and after treatment of the same. There is a danger of leaving far too many fish in the confined waters, with the natural result of stunting all of them. There is no effort as a rule to provide food and shelter, to keep down enemies, to plant the borders and the shallows intelligently. So many fish are thrown into a given area of water, and left to get along as they best can. With skilled advice so accessible from the large hatcheries, at a very trifling cost, the stockers persist in rude rule-of-thumb methods. The annually increasing difficulty of obtaining angling ought to stimulate every owner of a trout loch, or one capable of being made into such, to provide it with a suitable stock, under skilled advice from the greater hatcheries, where men with the requisite knowledge are kept for the purpose. The price at which the best species can now be sent, either as eyed ova, to be laid down in redds in the entering burns, or as yearlings to be placed directly in the waters themselves, is so moderate that it can scarcely be looked upon as a serious expenditure. Indeed, this has probably been the cause that so little progress has been made in some quarters with hatching itself, seeing that the owners of fishing lochs can so readily procure a supply of yearlings or two year olds, to be fished down the same or the following year, without regard to permanent stocking. Even this, however, is an important aid to the private fish-hatcheries. From these, during the last twenty years, a great many of our lochs have been stocked with Loch Leven and other fish, of a superior class to the undersized local breeds.

But the most important question for fresh water fish breeders is that of the anadromous fishes, such as the salmon and sea-trout. The vast possibilities before us in connection with these fishes in Scotland, have not yet been fully appreciated even by those who have given much time and attention to the subject. The reason for this is partly that the knowledge of the ways of these fishes at sea has not been general, and indeed has only recently been acquired. The only apparent demand

for fresh water on the part of these fish, is for the purposes of depositing their spawn, and perhaps for a short sojourn. There is no reason to believe that, after the deposition of their spawn, they require to remain in the rivers. Consequently a very small stream will carry a large stock, so long as they do not require feeding. All that has to be done is to prevent overcrowding at spawning time, and to take care the kelts return to the sea. So long as either herring or salmon are full of milt or roe the pressure of food would irritate them. So soon as they get rid of the contents of their ovaries, they become voracious and if allowed to lie about the pools of the upper reaches of the rivers, they become 'mended' indeed, but at the expense of myriads of the young of their species. The lack of proper security, and the presence of injurious restrictions, are the main causes of the absence of hatching operations in connection with our magnificent river-system. The jealousy of upper and lower proprietors, and the general dread of future legislation on antagonistic lines, has also much to do with want of action and interest in the matter. If the salmon is virtually a sea-fish, feeding mainly in the sea, it is certain that it cannot exist without fresh water streams. But the proprietors of these cannot be expected to hatch fish in the upper reaches for fishermen and others at the mouths or on the lower reaches, where no ova could possibly be hatched, and where the fish do not even feed, but are only using a public right of way!

We are not greatly concerned for the proprietors of these rivers, who have not shown themselves particularly public-spirited, or even capable of mutual action for the benefit of their co-fraternity. But, as the custodians of the river fisheries for the nation, we regret that their action, or no-action, has been the means of turning the legislation on the salmon in the wrong direction, a direction that will have to be departed from, if any real progress is ever to follow our fish-hatching discoveries. The antagonism between lower and upper proprietors, the granting of licences to fishermen to fish in the embouchures of rivers, the abundant use of hang-nets off the mouths of rivers, are all antagonistic to the hatching of migra-

tory fishes in our rivers by private individuals or associations. What is everybody's business is nobody's business, and the recent legislative action, as well as administrative action, declares practically that the salmon, so soon as it leaves the fresh water, belongs to no one. If any private action is to be anticipated, the fish that are so hatched must be protected within range. If such protection is not to be vouchsafed, then the Government must take action on its own initiative, and stock the rivers with artificially incubated fishes, for the general behoof, while seeing that the needful laws are passed to secure the return, and protection during the spawning season, of a sufficient body of fish. This is no doubt a serious demand to make upon any Department, but a Fishery Board for Scotland ought to be able without any great strain to provide the necessary knowledge, as well as to administer wisely the funds needful for the purpose. We have before us a good example of what can be done in this direction, in the success of the United States of America in checking the depletion of the river Columbia, which threatened to be destroyed as a salmon preserve, owing to the reckless fishing of the irresponsible public. The capture of the spawning fish in their ascent, was counterbalanced by the distribution of some millions of artificially spawned and incubated young in the river for some years annually. The recovery of the river was marvellously rapid, and its improved condition was further secured by legislation.

It might naturally be anticipated that in new countries like Canada and the States, where the population has not attained the dangerous congestion of the older lands, such impoverishment of great rivers would be impossible. But absence of initial control, and the greater use of machinery, made far greater havoc than we have yet seen in our land 'of rich and old renown,' with its ancient rights and charters. There the international question more rapidly matured the national, by directing the attention of the nation to the value of, and the limits of, its water privileges. The Government was obliged to take up the question of the depletion of the rivers in the older settled portion of the Dominion, and was forced to enact laws for the regulation of the fisheries, as well as to take

means to re-stock the waters. The Canadian Dominion has accordingly given great attention to the subject, has established a considerable number of hatcheries, and placed an enormous quantity of fry in the various rivers and confined waters.

With such an example before us both in the States and Canada, it is almost incredible to find our Government facilitating every means of increasing the capture of the salmon tribe, without taking any steps to maintain the supply. With the increase of hang-nets at sea, with a continuous line of engines of destruction from the moment the salmon smells fresh water till it reaches the furthest spawning beds, with no watchful care either over the beds, or over the fry when they are in their tender infancy; but with great coddling of the greedy and voracious kelt fattening at their expense, in place of returning to the salt water and its wealth of food, no wonder little progress is being made in maintaining a river stock. Let us add to this, the absence of any honest or judicious attempt at the purification of our rivers, and we have enough to explain the backward condition of our river-fisheries, compared with our prominent place as pioneers of the science of fish-hatching.

Until legislation for the salmon tribe is placed in the hands of those who have neither private interests to serve, nor political log-rolling to influence them, we may look for little more to be done in the way of river stocking. The attention of those who would otherwise have turned first in this direction, has consequently been directed to the sea, where there is apparently an unlimited outlet for improvement. We are disposed to think that too much has been expected from this direction, and that the efforts being made are not likely to result in encouraging to greater. Let us at once acknowledge that there is very little real difficulty in hatching out most sea-fish, and turning them into given reaches of water. In Norway Captain Dannevig has been most successful with very moderate means. There is no demand for the extreme nicety of fresh-water hatching, and the short time required for most of the sea fishes, compared with the salmon class, still further facilitates the operation. This refers more especially to the

commoner classes of fish, such as cod and plaice, whose ova are readily procurable, and as easily manipulated. We are consequently overpowered by the tales of millions of ova incubated at considerable expense, and turned out into the sea with little regard to the probability of their ever finding their way to the shelter of the friendly bottom, through the multitude of enemies waiting them *en route*. Now, while interesting enough in itself, there is much nonsense, and mere claptrap, in the claims attached thereto. All this hatching in the meantime is in the neighbourhood of the North Sea fisheries, and there is no doubt that the North Sea is specially suited for pouring fry into, isolated as it is to a large extent from other seas. But let us see what all this row of nothings means? A cod will throw say ten millions ova,—not all at once,—but over perhaps six weeks time. So that even a hundred million cod ova are only the product of, let us say, ten large fish. Now the cod of the Lofoden Islands are found spawning by the million! Their ova are sometimes thrown ashore like waves of froth, in unsuitable weather. But during normal seasons, billions upon billions of incubating ova must be carried by currents throughout the North Sea, over months, so that a large proportion must always drift into happy havens, and find congenial temperature and waters. No doubt over centuries the cod has found this a suitable centre for the diffusion of its ova. The balance of chances has been in their favour. It has not been a question of feeding, for the cod of the Lofodens are the most wretched half-starved creatures ever fished. They must go elsewhere for a home and a well-served table. They are sufficient in number to supply the whole North Sea, if this were requiring stocking to make use of the available food. That the cod is a voracious migratory sea-wolf is well known, and cannot be expected to remain where it is either incubated or placed. Certain banks are frequented by it at certain seasons of the year, when it is feeding freely, and is in best condition. It may thereafter disappear absolutely for long periods, and it may cover great stretches of ground during this time. If Lewis fishermen are to be credited, and there is no reason to doubt them, they have taken fish with hooks that

had been swallowed by different fishes from Spain on the one side, and Norway on the other. The attempt to stock a small locality on the edge of the North Sea with cod, seems therefore a most superfluous one. Nature does it infinitely better, and we have no reason to believe that this fine fish is not quite in quantity *up to its food supply.* Is there any good food, or feeding ground, left untouched? Having therefore little faith in the hatching of cod or similar fish alongside the North Sea, whose area may be said to be at the service of each portion thereof; our latest experience rather adds the flat fish to the same list. The fact that the common plaice will travel to a great distance along the coast, combined with the knowledge we have of their hatching operations on a great scale on the fish bank in the Moray Firth called Smith Bank, as well as in the Pentland Firth, points to somewhat similar conditions to those of the cod. From these centres they must spread over great areas, over a considerable period; and neither for quantity, nor skill in arrangement for the future care of the fry, have we yet any data to help us to compete with these natural incubating and diffusing centres.

There has been a tendency to treat marine fishes, on the one hand, as if they were something beyond our ken, and outside the ordinary conditions of knowable living creatures; and, on the other, as if they were the occupants of a hen-coop. Each is wrong on opposite sides of the problem. As a rule the supply of multitudinous fry, where no provision has been made for their reception, only provides food for the fish fauna on the ground, a fauna that would have been greater if the conditions had been favourable. If there is no food on the ground, the fish will in all likelihood be absent; and if present, are only transitory and on the hunt. Where the value of fish-hatching might well be tested in the sea, is in a very different direction. Throughout the Western Scottish lochs, which have mostly a special character of their own, there are years of dearth of the local shoals. We cannot write with certainty as to the cause of this, but it is presumably after they had been fished below the point from which, in an average year, they were able to recover their normal strength. This especially refers to the

herring, but it may also apply to the cod and the haddock, which on the West are mainly fished locally when they come in shore in the spring to spawn. A wild onslaught upon the herring in a confined loch, may well semi-exterminate the local shoal; and this is a fair case in which an effort might be made to recuperate it. For a Western loch is not a part of the ocean, in the same way that a portion of the North Sea is. It requires a local shoal to make the approaches of these concealed waters, except by the merest accident, and when this local shoal is brought down to a condition in which it cannot do more than exist among its natural enemies, a long period may elapse before it is able to re-appear in its former strength so as to form a valuable fishery. The increased extent of netting and its reckless use, has gradually driven the herring further and further out into deeper water to spawn, but a very little care would enable localities to secure a supply of spawn, with which to stock the lochs in which they are specially interested. There should be no difficulty at all in this. In most of the local fisheries of the West there is a period when the spawning fish throw their ova and milt freely in the fishermen's boats, and the spawn thus thrown has been hatched out even in a basin in a room, with the water changed periodically. The experiments of the Fishery Board for Scotland showed, that even at a temperature of 42° Far. the ova hatched out in less than three weeks; while the ordinary temperature of the bottom of the sea, on the West coast of Scotland during the summer season, is very much higher, and the period of incubation probably very much shorter correspondingly. Even in February, one of the principal herring spawning months, the temperature of the sea is not seriously affected by the air temperature in the West. Attention during a very few weeks would therefore be all that would be required to put an enormous stock into the water. The question is, how best it could be done? We are disposed to believe that the sea itself is the best pond for the purpose, more especially the waters into which the fry are to be placed. A set of floating cases of wood and fine wire netting could be supplied with impregnated ova on suitable cultch, and an outer circle of common netting would

prevent the enemies of the fry collecting as the little creatures escape and take to the deep. We prefer some such simple arrangement, so that every important loch could attend to its own interests, and maintain its stock from its own herring, which, as all marine naturalists know, have distinct varietal peculiarities. To attempt to deal with the shoals of the great West, except by well-considered and not hasty regulations, would in our opinion be an act of supererogation, and only lead to disappointment. For the failure in the outer fisheries may be considered as mainly the result of meteorological conditions. Some years these fisheries are earlier, at other times later than usual; when the shoals have ripened much sooner than usual, the fleets are not prepared for them; while again the shoals may come so small as to pass through the nets, from late development. This probably comes from lower surface temperature, or from prevailing winds driving the fish food off the coast, or even the shoals themselves being unable to progress against the persistent pressure of the gales. These great ocean shoals are therefore beyond consideration so far as supplementing them by artificial hatching goes.

On the other hand, although we do not know how far the cod or haddock that spawn on certain banks along the coast may proceed in quest of food, yet as they seem to return to the same grounds annually in the spawning season, it is reasonable to suppose that a certain proportion of the spawn might be saved from destruction at this season, and utilised as a means of maintaining the stock. It may however be questioned whether, if any important fishery of cod and haddock were to spring up on the West about the Inner Hebrides or the lochs, it would not be well to protect to an extent these noted spawning grounds, from whence wide areas are no doubt populated. The fish are of so little value, except to a few local fishermen, at the time of spawning in these inner waters, that an amount of restriction might do little to cause irritation compared with the advantages accruing. But we have not sufficient knowledge to speak authoritatively as to this. Where are the codfish, incubated in the waters of the West in vast multitudes in the early spring, ultimately captured? Once the

spawning season is past, it is probable that they attend upon the herring shoals, like most other predatory fish. At any rate one may fish over great areas at certain seasons, including those they spawn in, without catching a single 'weel-faured' cod or haddock. No amount of artificial incubation would alter this condition of matters. The ground is not at any time rich in the food that attracts these rich-feeding and voracious fish. They will tide over the spawning season with a few crustacea, or stray mollusca; but the mending of a spawned fish, and the ground-work for a new spawning season, is not to be provided by any desultory wandering nondescript creatures. We must clearly appreciate the limitations of the beneficial effects of spawning, or else do as so many have done in the case of fresh waters, incur a heavy expenditure without any corresponding advantages accruing. The world has advanced far beyond the stage of hatching for the sake of showing how many millions they can throw into the water, although the recent work of the latest hatchery on a large scale, that of Dunbar, has been conducted on some such principle. The throwing of plaice into the North Sea in the state of fry, while popularly attractive, is utterly valueless so far as practical fishermen are concerned. The original object of the hatchery, as erected by the Fishery Board was to carry out on a practical scale the experiments understood to have been successful, for the introduction of the more valuable fishes that had become almost exterminated throughout the neighbouring seas. Thus so early as 1883 we find that the Board claim to be able to introduce into such an area as St. Andrews' Bay 'millions of young turbot, sole, and flounders' at a limited expense. True we have the proviso, 'with the necessary appliances;' but if the necessary appliances are not to be found in this latest result of our scientific authorities, with the support of the purse of a public department, where is it to be found? Certain it is that although a great effort was made to do so, and plenty of ripe fish were experimented upon, at very considerable expenditure, little has been done. The mortality has been exceptionally great, and the latest knowledge on the subject of hatching, in which

we have already shown our pre-eminence, cannot have been taken advantage of. If a tithe of the knowledge, care, and assiduity expended on Howieton, and which was still at the disposal of Dunbar, had been expended upon it, we should surely not have had such a tale of failure!

While we have little satisfactory progress to report in this direction, much preparatory work of a useful character has been done by the Fishery Board for Scotland. It has shown the nature of the spawning grounds, and the quantity of ova thrown by different fishes, and otherwise investigated the minor problems respecting our food fishes, upon which the successful conduct of fish-hatching, with a view to stocking depleted grounds, depends. The very fact that the initiatory steps were taken with so much care, makes the further conduct of the enterprise the more unfortunate. What is wanted is a model establishment, to which we can refer the interested public, as a guide for the local work that is sure to arise when districts awake—as they are already awakening—to the necessity of doing what is possible for the preservation of their local fisheries. Dunbar is very far from having reached this position, whatever it may yet do 'through much tribulation.'

Having acknowledged our lack of a progressive fish-hatchery for marine fishes, on anything like the scale, or in anything approaching the efficiency of Howieton, we thereby own to being unable to claim a substantial advance in this department, comparable with our standing in all other departments of fish and fisheries questions. We are probably breaking nuts with a sledge-hammer, and trying to manipulate the more delicate fishes with what is an ingenious arrangement for cod or haddock. When we turn to lobsters we are on better ground, although we should have liked greater certainty in results. This has been prevented owing to the distance of the experimenting pond from the investigators. The very simplicity of the arrangement, and the small expense attending it, drew attention away from it to more costly and imposing efforts. Yet it has apparently proved the readiness with which lobsters can be kept in ponds of moderate dimensions, until the berried

hens have thrown their ova into the surrounding waters. No creature has proved less amenable to artificial propagation, if we take Canada as an example, than the lobster; and as incubation is so simple, the reason for the non-success in recuperating exhausted fishings is not self-evident. If the incubated young are to be carried through the various metamorphoses to the stage of localisation as a shore dweller, more extensive and complicated arrangements will be necessary. Also, it must be borne in mind that, if the age of a living creature at maturity is to be judged from the time it takes to incubate, and even further to reach its own proper form, then the lobster must take many years to arrive at a marketable size. A point we have not yet decided either in the case of fish or crustacea is, whether there is any great advantage in carrying them past the early stages before launching them upon the cares of life? There seems every reason to believe that too long continued fostering, before being subjected to the necessity of self-reliance, and skill in procuring sustenance, renders them an easy prey to the multitude of enemies always awaiting such providential supplies of food, under natural conditions. On the other hand, the pelagic existence of the lobster * during its metamorphosis, places it at the disposal of many foes it does not reach once it has settled at the bottom of the sea, in some quiet haven. Would its care up to the true lobster stage unfit it for the future struggle, or would the experience gained in these preliminary stages be valueless in its settled station? If we were to judge by humanity, the experience gained by a 'rolling stone' is of little use to him when he seeks to become a stable unit in the gregarious body of his fellows! We can scarcely calculate less than nine months from the extrusion of the ova to the completed lobster form, and this means a very slow rate of growth to maturity, as well as a long time during which the hatching and subsequent attention must be provided for, if artificial propagation is to be thoroughly carried out. There is no serious practical difficulty to be encountered, and the tough nature of the ova enables

* According to Saville-Kent, one month to six weeks.

them to be sent to any distance without injury; so that an important central station, with ponds for the retention of the young through all the metamorphoses, could be readily supplied and the produce as easily distributed. Such costly marine creatures deserve some consideration and expenditure.

When we leave crustacea, and turn to the higher mollusca, we are met by difficulties that have to be fairly faced before they can be surmounted. Our treacherous climate has not proved so favourable for oyster cultivation as was at one time anticipated. Yet when we consider that the British seas supplied the brood that enabled M. Coste to establish the oyster fishery of France on its present position of supremacy, there must be some simple reason for the falling off in our oyster fisheries, if the very fact recorded, that so many millions of brood were taken from every part of the coast, for the French beds, is not sufficient. We conclude there is a want of care in connection with our manipulation of the spat after deposition on the cultch; or else why in the south of England, where a good spatting season has frequently provided a sufficiency of spat, did they never reach the condition of brood, much less the marketable stage? There seems reason to believe that in private hands the oyster fisheries of France would never have been recuperated, and no commercial success ever have been attained. The same result has been arrived at both in France and Holland. *Individual* beds have been failures, while over all, in such areas as Arcahon, or the East Schelde, a spat has fallen somewhere. The decision of Professor Huxley seems to be, that the returns on the expenditure over the French oyster fisheries has not been satisfactory on the whole from a commercial point of view.* That it has been of advantage to the nation cannot be disputed. This extreme irregularity in spatting, and still more in deposition, should rather point to a system of still greater artificiality. The spat should be caught in small confined ponds, and nurtured until capable of being set out in the beds where they will be in comparative safety. We cannot pretend to rely upon a regular spatting season in

* *English Illustrated Magazine*, November, 1883.

Scotland, seeing that even in England they are most uncertain, and the trade there may be said to have passed into a system of purchasing foreign half-grown oysters and laying them down for a time on the English beds to fatten, and be so far *English* oysters.

The artificial hatching of oysters has not attained the same position of care and accuracy that the hatching of fish-proper has. We have taken an oyster with black spat and, removing these from the mantle, kept them readily for some weeks. In this way we have no reason to doubt that young oysters could be reared every year in our own country, under suitable conditions. But the great variation of temperature, that so generally destroys the spat when it is expelled, and before it has settled down finally, must be guarded against in the hatcheries. The fact that sea water is required, and that of a strong character and not brackish, has no doubt prevented the same attention to this department of the hatching art. The extremely small size of the embryos when excluded from the mothers' protection, is another reason for the absence of experiments in this direction. But these difficulties are by no means insuperable, as the water need not be changed if properly aerated, for the period during which the embryos are active. Once they have attached themselves, they are as readily managed as any other creatures under confinement, and more so than fishes, which will not remain where they are placed as these anchored molluscs will. If the effort were made to hatch out the young oyster in absolute confinement, and to keep them for six months, until about the size of threepenny bits, we have little reason to question the success of the operation. What is wanted is, first, strong sea water at an equable temperature, and then when the larvæ had been secured, a good flow of water with a sufficiency of food. One great advantage that belongs to this class of organism, whether in the open or in special confinement, is the readiness with which they can be cleaned. For while the tiles or other cultch on which they are attached can be removed from the water without doing any injury to the brood, for some hours at a time, this would suffice to send all the clinging enemies into the nearest water.

Until oyster *culture* has reached this stage of oyster-*hatching*, and the black spat is removed from the ripe oyster, and cared for all through, as in the case of fishes, we cannot look upon it as a success, seeing the slightest injurious temperature may destroy the whole spatting of a season; and this has occurred so frequently, that both in Ireland and in the South of England, a spat is never anticipated until it is seen well settled. For the last twenty years this has been a rarity. So that the conclusion as to French culture may be still more strongly asserted as to English and Irish, whenever they have attempted to rely on their own supply: viz., 'Favoured by one or two fortunate spatting years, M. Coste made ostreiculture the fashion a quarter of a century ago. A large capital was embarked, in France and this country, in establishing oyster-parks, but it may be questioned whether more than a small fraction of the investment has ever found its way back into the pockets of the investors; and, in many cases, the results have been disastrous.'* We attribute this mainly to the rude methods employed, and the absence of security to the embryo from the outset.

We need not touch upon the hatching of any other of the lower classes of marine life, although the hatching of cuttle-fish would be considered by some of the liners as quite as important as that, say, of mussels. But mussels themselves are so easily obtained in multitudes around our coasts, and their brood are so plentiful every year, on some point of the shore, not always certain in its range, that they may be considered beyond the necessity of *hatching*.

Our examination of the present position of the fish-hatching art, therefore, rather points to a greater advance in our knowledge of the subject, than in our application of the information and skill at our disposal. We have an enormous water-privilege in ponds and lakes and lochs that has not been made the most of. Either they are still stocked with an inferior class of fish, probably in too great numbers to be of any size, and without any effort to increase their food supply; or fresh stock

* Huxley, *English Illustrated Magazine*, November, 1883, p. 116.

has been thrown in without knowledge or judgment. Our running waters are so broken up amid conflicting interests, so hampered by legislation, so devoid of any real security of tenure, that unless the Government itself undertakes their care and stocking in the general interest, there seems little prospect of any important advance. If we add to this the want of any vigorous effort towards the purification of rivers, no longer capable of carrying the same stock, owing to drainage, as well as chemical and other impurities; the clashing of interests that prevent the removal of obstructions; and the general lack of systematic control, we can understand why we know more about the true principles of fish-hatching, and do less to give effect to them, than any other people! In comparing this country with others, we must not forget that, while France and America have done good work, it has been done at the public expense; while all our remarkable advance in knowledge has been gained at the expense of private workers, and individual efforts, such as those of Howieton, so freely laid before the public. The success of the States has added little to our knowledge of the art. As in other departments, they have shown appreciation of discoveries made, and a business capacity for carrying into action the ideas formulated. The restocking of their seas with the Menhaden was a simple matter, and the only lesson it conveys to us is that, with a suitable vessel, we could pass round the coast and do the same for our exhausting herring lochs, with advantage to the natives, if not to the general industry. The stocking of the Columbia with salmon, was merely a development of the Stormontfield work on a larger scale. We have learned little of a practical character suited to our own seas from the French oyster culture, because it has not dealt with the hatching-proper of the embryo. This remains to be effectively settled. So far as we are concerned, the condition of the fish-hatching industry may be considered unsatisfactory, owing:—

First.—To the unsettled nature of the ownership of salmon-fisheries, the disturbing character of the legislation, and the want of certainty as to the different anadromous fishes, all preventing joint action in the general interest.

Second.—The strong public sentiment against the salmon tribe as property, the result of ignorance, or selfishness, or the wave of antagonism against all proprietors.

Third.—The increasing pollution of our rivers, which the Commissioner has no power to take action upon, and individuals are not strong enough to tackle, while Societies have no *locus standi* thereanent in law. An enlightened public opinion as to the utilisation of waste waters, quite as much as waste lands, is also desiderated.

As to marine-fish hatching, which is merely a crude development of the more delicate fresh-water hatcheries, it has not been pursued with the knowledge that ought to have been at the disposal of the department in charge. The attempt to apply the methods employed for common fishes to the more delicate and valuable fishes, naturally proved a failure. Oyster-hatching, in contradistinction to oyster-culture, does not seem to have been pursued to any practical purpose, to our knowledge. It is our only hope for the resuscitation of our north-country exhausted beds. Half a dozen oysters in the state of black spat would supply as many embryos as a considerable establishment could satisfactorily carry to the condition of brood, ready for laying out in ponds. As black spat, the embryos are hardier than might have been anticipated, and are quite capable of standing carriage in the parent for some distance, and even when removed therefrom.

With every civilised Government giving great attention to the stocking and full utilisation of their controllable waters, we may reasonably look to our own to take a more practical interest in those problems that especially apply to our waters and our particular conditions. On the East coast we are dealing with waters that are common property to all the nations bordering the North Sea. We know that even plaice returned to the Firth of Forth may be taken in the far north of Scotland, that this flat fish is found all over the area in question, and consequently that the throwing of millions of fry into the mouth of the Forth, even if they ever reached the bottom, would have no appreciable effect on our own especial shore waters. If the area has food for cod, they will throng

down from the abundantly stocked north to reap the harvest. If there is no food, then the artificial supply will disperse at once in search of it. We are indeed ploughing the sand in meddling with the stocking of this international sea, except in conjunction with the other bordering nations, each contributing its quota. We are adding nothing to our knowledge of the subject by following in the wake of nations otherwise far behind us as regards the higher branch of fish-hatching. We can draw neither lessons nor conclusions from our efforts. On the other hand, in the West we have a sea that no one interferes with, many confined waters that are peculiarly susceptible to control, and where hatching operations could reasonably be expected to show results. Conditions are also so varied along this stretch of coast, that many problems never dreamed of on the East present themselves for solution, and may be solved with direct national benefit. In connection with sea-fish hatching, it must be borne in mind that the experience of the best authorities is, as might be expected, that artificially hatched fish are not as vigorous, nor as capable of entering on the struggle for existence, as naturally hatched fry!

In conclusion, we are more than surprised that in Scotland, the foremost fishing nation in Europe, with a superb fishing coast-line, we should be in the first rank as fresh water culturists, but have really added nothing to the knowledge of marine fish-hatching. With the money at the disposal of the fishery department, and their extended organisation, we ought not to have to wait much longer for the settlement of these more apparent problems.

W. Anderson Smith.

Art. VI.—THE LEGAL POSITION OF A CHAIRMAN.

A MEETING may be defined as a concourse of persons entitled by invitation or summons to be present at an appointed time in a specified place for the purpose of their all taking part in the decision of such questions as are competent under the authority expressed in the summons.

This definition obviously excludes that large class of cases in which certain persons convene in pursuance of some object that is of interest to them all, but that does not depend for its realization on any organized expression of their mind or will. Thus, for example, the spectators or the audience in a theatre or a concert-hall, though sitting side by side with one another, and though perhaps for the most part affected alike by the art of the performers, are not, in the strict or proper import of the word, a meeting. They are there, not to deliberate unitedly on any matter, not to determine any issue by voice or vote, but simply as individuals to derive what pleasure or profit they can from the drama or the music. They have come together under one and the same attraction, but, as to the result, they remain in relation to one another the mere isolated units of an inorganic mass. Thought of collectively, they are a whole only in the arithmetical sense, and not in the vital sense of their being members of one body for as long at least as the assemblage lasts.

On the other hand, the definition covers every case in which certain persons convene for some end that, as the condition of its being served by their coming together, presupposes a subject matter to be discussed, and, in respect of that subject matter, a conclusive judgment on their part, set forth in the form of a resolution. A conclusion implies an antecedent process through which differences of opinion, apparent at the outset or subsequently revealed, have been reconciled or overcome, so that the resolution, once it is passed, carries weight as the resolution of the whole. When, as here, a number of persons is figured as a whole, and not as a mere aggregate, the whole is bound to be explained on the principle of organization. The whole, that is to say, is then a body of which the component persons are members.

In application to groups or masses of men, even under a free constitution of the State, the principle of organization adapts itself to difference of type among the objects for which different bodies exist or come to exist.

Thus the *ratio essendi* of a regiment or an army necessitates absolute subordination, through lower and higher ranks, of all the other members of the body to that one member whose

position is at the head. The requirement of obedience to superior authority, on which military discipline is based, renders the will of the colonel or the general in effect that of the regiment or the army. Whether the reason of the commands that are issued be evident or not to those who are called on to execute them, submission to those commands must be expressed in every act or movement, if the body is to preserve its cohesion and be fit for the discharge of its proper functions.

The *ratio essendi*, again, of a meeting determines the organization of a meeting to a form of its own. The object being to propose some question for the consideration of all who constitute the meeting, and to elicit an answer, ay or no, in harmony with reason as reflected in what is found to be the prevailing opinion, all who constitute the meeting are, by necessary hypothesis, so far equal. Regarded, therefore, as members of a body subsisting in or represented by the meeting, they are all co-ordinate. Each is entitled by virtue of this fact to contribute as fully as every other to the discussion of any question that may be brought before the meeting, and each is entitled to have the same weight as every other in settling whether the question shall be answered in the affirmative or in the negative or at all. Theoretically, or in law, no actual difference of personal effectiveness is of consequence. Practically, of course, or in fact, difference of ability among those who have an equal right to be heard on a question, and an equal right to share otherwise in deciding it, renders some more influential than the rest; and difference of ability, though the most telling in the long run, is not the only difference for which allowance has to be made.

Were all the members qualified alike, and were the matter of the question thoroughly threshed out, unanimity would by force of reason be the result of every debate. Even in this case, it is plain, some instrument or organ for interpreting the mind of the meeting would be necessary. Some person would have to be authorized to act as the mouthpiece of the meeting. The person so singled out is called the chairman, from his being usually provided with a chair set in a position of prominence within sight of all who are present. The chair is thus the symbol of the office. The office itself consists in mediating for the time being

the connexion with one another of those who form the meeting, and in ascertaining and declaring the will of the whole.

But the conditions of inevitable unanimity are for the most part absent. Reason is developed in different men in different degrees and with different tendencies to error. Further, the matter of any question is liable in the course of ordinary discussion to be looked at in some one of its aspects, and not on every side. The element of contingency, in short, which enters into all human experience, constantly operates to disturb the force that makes for a unanimous conclusion. If controversy exist in a meeting, debate may or may not bring about agreement, and yet the object of the meeting would be frustrated were persistent difference of opinion effectual to prevent the passing of any definitive resolution. Practical need, therefore, gives rise to the expedient of acknowledging the opinion of a majority, ascertained by taking a vote, to be the mind of the meeting. The expedient is far from being a merely arbitrary adaptation of the readiest means to a desirable end. There is a presumption, founded on the very nature of reason, that a judgment is true or a decision valid, when the number of those who agree in it exceeds the number of those who oppose it. The presumption may in particular cases be overthrown, but this too lies in the nature of reason, and the exception only proves the rule.

In connexion with the business of a meeting what may be called substantive questions have to be distinguished from questions of order. Substantive questions, then, are those to consider and dispose of which is the final cause of the meeting. Questions of order, on the other hand, are those which arise in respect of procedure or progress towards the settlement of substantive questions. Discovery of the mind of the meeting on any substantive question or main issue is never reached *per saltum* or otherwise than step by step. Whether the steps be few or many, they ought all of them to be directed to the one definite end. Order is indispensable for the conduct of business, and, where caprice or individual self-will threatens to break in, order has to be enforced. Motions and amendments have to be proposed, seconded, or supported by speech, under regulations calculated

to insure that free deliberation without which any resolution that may ostensibly be passed is worth nothing.

By what authority are the regulations, thus shown to be necessary, laid down? By what authority are they enforced? Inquiry as to the legal position of the chairman of a meeting is virtually exhausted along these two lines of special inquiry; for, as regards any substantive question, the chairman of a meeting, that has any *ratio essendi* whatever, is the organ of the meeting by means of which the will of the meeting is expressed. A meeting, it is obvious, would contradict the very terms of its definition, were it subject to the chairman or to external constraint in matters that bear to be proposed for the decision of the meeting. Is it in the same or a different predicament as regards rules of procedure and the determining of questions of order?

At this point it becomes important to discriminate among meetings of various kinds, so as to make sure of solid ground to go on. It is never safe to leave differences out of account, though it may appear after all that the differences do not really affect the point at issue.

A meeting, then, may consist of persons associated for only as long as the meeting lasts, or it may be one of a series in the history of a continuing body.

A meeting which consists of persons associated for only as long as the meeting lasts may be summoned in such terms as leave the persons who obey the summons free from any condition of preliminary agreement; or it may be summoned in such terms as bind them throughout the whole proceedings to the support of a particular policy, without requiring them to be unanimous in respect of what is incidental or accessory, or in respect of what is proper to be done. For present convenience the first of these specific types may be named a public meeting, and the second a party meeting, though both of the terms are in ordinary use to denote, not only the difference here intended, but also, and perhaps oftener, differences on other grounds. Thus, for example, any meeting, even a party one according to the foregoing criterion, or one limited as to membership by the constitution of the body which it represents, is commonly spoken of as a public meeting, if its proceedings be conducted openly, so as to admit

the public to the knowledge of them through reports in the newspaper press or otherwise. A party meeting, again, as the term is most frequently applied, means by party no more than political party. But the contrast between a public meeting and a party meeting is familiar enough under these names, and in the sense already explained, to warrant the using of the names in that sense, and in no other, throughout the following argument.

A meeting which is one of a series in the history of a continuing body resembles a party meeting, in as far as the summons is addressed to certain persons, or to a certain class of persons, and not to all persons who may see fit to attend. The condition, however, as stated or implied in the summons, is not agreement in the main in a particular issue, but is simply membership of the particular body which by hypothesis the meeting represents. The particular body, it is true, may be organized on some principle of party community; but, even in such a case, the right to take part in the meeting illustrates the maxim *causa proxima non remota spectatur*, for the right belongs only to members of the particular body, and does not extend to other persons who may be of the same party in general. No doubt a continuing body may sometimes promote, and be the means of calling, a party meeting, or even a public meeting; but the meeting so convened is not a meeting of the body, and does not, by any resolutions which it may pass, bind the body. The characteristic of a meeting of a continuing body, the quality which always differentiates such a meeting from a public or a party one, is this: that the right to share in the proceedings is absolutely confined to those who, under the acknowledged constitution of the body, are on the roll of members.

With reference to the legal position of the chairman of a meeting of a continuing body it is proper to take account of the different ways in which a continuing body may be constituted. The first is by voluntary association on the part of the members, the body thus created not being subject to any statutory regulation, but remaining throughout the whole period of its existence subject only to rules of its own enacting. The various political associations which find a centre in almost every district of the country may be adduced as examples. The second way is by

voluntary association directed to securing for the body thus created certain privileges, of which the enjoyment is conditional on some measure of statutory regulation. A joint stock company incorporated under the Companies Acts, or under a special Act, as the case may be, is a typical instance; and so, also, is a society registered as a friendly society. The third and last of the ways in which a continuing body may be constituted is by public authority, independently or even negatively of voluntary association. It is immaterial as regards the present interest whether the public authority be expressed in an act of the legislature or in a royal charter. Parish Councils, County Councils, Municipal Corporations and Universities are prominent among continuing bodies of the kind now in question. Incorporation, however, is not in every case a requisite. Thus the General Council of a Scots University is a continuing body constituted by public authority, but it is not a corporation.

In whichever way a continuing body is constituted, the chairman at any meeting of the body is seldom elected by the meeting. Most commonly he presides by virtue of his holding some office which has been determined by the constitution of the body as entitling the holder to take the chair at all meetings. The constitution usually provides for the absence of those persons on whom, in a specified order of precedence, it confers the right to preside at meetings, by declaring that, in the absence of them all from any meeting, a chairman shall be appointed by the meeting. In the case of a statutory body, if the chairman be designated by statute, and if by some oversight no provision be made by the statute for the absence of the person designated, it would seem to be competent for the body itself * to enact a standing order supplying the omission. A corporation has a common law power of making by-laws or standing orders in supplement of whatever regulations may be laid down in its charter or in any Act of Parliament under which it subsists, and a statutory body that is not incorporated is in this respect in precisely the same position.

* A subordinate body, like a kirk-session, with a chairman *ex officio*, may require express permission to meet in his absence, and even then may not be empowered to appoint the person who is to preside.

The consequence of neglect by a continuing body to authorize its meetings, from which a person entitled *ex officio* to preside is absent or withdraws, to choose a chairman in his stead, is forcibly illustrated by the record of an occurrence in the London Common Council in the time of the Commonwealth. 'The Lord Mayor refused to put to the vote, or even to listen to, a petition to the House of Commons, in support of the proceedings against the King, and for some hours maintained his position amidst a storm of outcries and abuse. At last he and the two aldermen who alone were present left the room, and thus, according to precedent, condemned the Council to impotence for want of a qualified chairman.'*

As regards all the three classes of meetings which have now been distinguished—public meetings, party meetings, and meetings of continuing bodies—the cardinal question as to the legal position of the chairman is the question as to the ground of the authority in general exercised by him. Is his office ministerial or is it magisterial? Does he derive his authority from the meeting over which he presides, or from some other source? If from the meeting itself, then, obviously, his office is ministerial; he is the servant of the meeting, and is liable to be over-ruled by it in the event of his going against its mind. If, on the other hand, he derive his authority from some source outside, then his office is magisterial; he is the master of the meeting, and is entitled in any conflict of his will and its to prevail.

1. Public meetings.—These are properly the first to be discussed, because they are the primary type, the kind of which other meetings are only modifications more or less marked.

The chairman of an ordinary public meeting is the choice of the meeting, and in most cases is expressly recognized as such by his being formally proposed for the acceptance of the meeting, and by his being unanimously or through the preference of a majority accepted. Even when, as sometimes happens, the person who has convened the meeting, or some one else at the instance of the promoters, takes the chair without his being actually invited by the meeting to do so, on a motion made to

* Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, Vol. I., p. 43.

that effect, he presumes on the tacit consent of the meeting. The fact that no one is proposed instead of him argues such tacit consent. But whether the choice of the meeting be express or tacit, that choice is the ground, and the sole ground, of right in any person to preside. It follows that the right endures only for as long as the will of the meeting supports it. If the support be withdrawn, the right terminates. Accordingly, if in the course of the proceedings the meeting for any cause express want of confidence in the chairman, he must retire. In the event of his refusing to yield place to such other person as the meeting may appoint to succeed him, that other person, as representing the will of the meeting, may enforce his removal. The meeting must have a chairman, but it is not *ipso facto* dissolved by the retiral or the displacement from the chair of the particular person first called to fill the office. Just as at the outset it elected a chairman, so on the occurrence of a vacancy, however produced, it can elect a new chairman. Otherwise the purpose of the meeting might be entirely defeated.

It is quite a common thing, more especially when the proceedings are prolonged, for one person to take the place of another in the chair, the outgoing chairman either asking the meeting to name a substitute, or himself suggesting one, or, on occasion, to avoid interruption of the business, making way without appeal to the meeting for some one whom he himself fixes on and privately consults. Even in this last case the devolution of office is not really due to any inherent power in the chairman who is about to leave the chair, for *delegatus non potest delegare*. In what he does he merely interprets what he believes to be the mind of the meeting. If the meeting do not acquiesce in the arrangement, it can forthwith dismiss the new occupant of the chair and put some one of its own preference in his stead.

The chairman during his tenure of the chair can exercise only such authority as expresses the will of the meeting. He is simply the organ for ascertaining and declaring and, when there is need, enforcing that will. The settlement of every question, whether included in the prescribed *agenda* or emerging in connexion with the regulation of the proceedings, belongs of right to the meeting itself. This is the fundamental principle of consti-

tutional law and practice in the matter. In strictness, therefore, the function of the chairman is to put the question, whatever it may be, and whether it be the main question or an incidental one, to the meeting, and, on his thus discovering the mind of the meeting, to give it utterance, and, so far as the meeting is concerned, to give it effect. No power is inherent in the chairman to decide even the most trivial question otherwise than as the mouthpiece of the meeting. To be the mouthpiece of the meeting he must know the mind of the meeting, and in such a case to know means first of all to have inquired.

But the transaction of business would be difficult, and at times perhaps impossible, were debate to arise at every turn on some side issue, or were a vote to be taken on every point of order. Public meetings have all a family likeness, and custom has established certain rules as applicable in general to the conduct of business at such meetings. While, then, each meeting has the right, if it see fit, to depart from custom in the regulation of its proceedings, it may reasonably be presumed in most circumstances to will that which in similar circumstances elsewhere has been proved expedient. On the strength of this presumption, and as a matter of undeniable convenience, the chairman, when a point of order is raised, or any question occurs as to the competency of motions or amendments, is in use to state what, having regard to precedents or immediate urgency, he thinks ought to be done, and is in use, if no objection be taken, to rule at once in accordance with the view he has expressed. His warrant lies, not in the nature of his office, but purely in the presumption of law that, failing an explicit demonstration to the contrary, the will of the meeting is tacitly affirmative of the precedents or the other considerations on which he has grounded his judgment. But it stands to reason that what is presumed to be the will of the meeting must yield to what the meeting itself declares to be its will. The chairman is therefore bound to act in obedience to the expressed will of the meeting, on pain of his resigning the chair or of his being removed by a vote to that effect.

A contest between chairman and meeting has sometimes ended in the chairman's declaring the meeting adjourned or dissolved and leaving the chair. Those assembled have been known to

submit, even when they were unanimous or all but unanimous in desiring the meeting to go on, ignorance or uncertainty on their part as to the lawfulness of their proceeding further under a new chairman being oftenest the cause. But no chairman of a public meeting has the power to adjourn or dissolve the meeting at his own discretion or caprice.* The only source of his authority being the will of the meeting, he can never be entitled against that will to bring the proceedings to a close.

Judicial exposition of the principles of law applicable to public meetings has not been of frequent report either in Scotland or in England; but in the case of *Armour* v. *Macrae*,† which was tried in the High Court of Justiciary, the deliverances from the Bench went to the root of the matter. In this case the Rev. Matthew Armour, who had been sentenced by the sheriff-substitute to four days' imprisonment for an alleged breach of the peace, brought a bill of suspension—the means in Scots criminal procedure of bringing a conviction by an inferior court under the review of the supreme court. The Court quashed the conviction, holding unanimously that a complaint was not relevant which set forth that the accused had been guilty of a breach of the public peace, in so far as at a public political meeting, when the meeting was invited to put questions to a parliamentary candidate, the accused, instead of asking questions, 'addressed the meeting, and, upon being called to order by the chairman, refused to obey him, and persisted, notwithstanding repeated calls to obey him, in refusing to do so, and did behave in an excited and disorderly manner, and did interrupt, obstruct and disturb the proceedings of the said meeting, and did persist in so doing though warned and admonished by the chairman and others to desist therefrom, in consequence of which a disturbance was created and the chairman had to bring the meeting to a close,' by all or part of which parties present at said meeting, or some of them, were annoyed and alarmed, and a breach of the public peace was committed.

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* *Anderson* v. *Robertson*, 1827, 6 Shaw, 235, bears this out in respect of a meeting of creditors for choosing a trustee.

† 13 Rettie (Just. Cas.) 41, (1886).

Lord Young in the course of his judgment said:—'Any member of such a meeting is at liberty to address the meeting if he please. There may be restraints upon him, for it may not please the meeting to hear him. But if the meeting desires to hear him, and he desires to address the meeting, I know of nothing to hinder him. It is a question for the individual judgment. . . . Now, there seems to be some superstition about the powers of a chairman. He is elected by the meeting; he exists by their pleasure and at their pleasure; he is their servant to carry out their views; he is impotent so far as he is unsupported by them. That he should be at liberty to dictate to the meeting is entirely out of the question. His duty is to endeavour to keep harmony by conciliatory conduct. But in case of conflict it is the decision of the meeting, and not his decision, that must prevail. This is the case even in the House of Commons, which is the model popular assembly. The Speaker has no authority, except in so far as derived from the House. It is the authority of the House exercised through him. So at an ordinary meeting the chairman is the medium through which the views of the meeting find expression. To say that a member of a meeting with a majority of the meeting at his back commits a crime because he refuses to obey the chairman is as extravagant a proposition as I have ever listened to. . . . The meeting was apparently in sympathy with Mr. Armour, and was desirous that he should speak. He was perfectly at liberty to do so. He was in his right.'

Lord Craighill concurred, 'and altogether upon the grounds' stated by Lord Young. 'This meeting,' he added, 'was called in order that all might have an opportunity of hearing what were the views of the candidate and of making him acquainted with the views prevailing there. Moreover, there was no programme by which the course of business was to be determined. There could be no sort of implied contract by which one party should be bound to follow one course, while another party followed another. It was not obligatory to obey the ruling of the chairman. It was a matter of personal consideration whether the chairman should be obeyed, so that the proper object of the meeting should be carried out.'

Lord M'Laren also concurred, 'in the affirmation, that is to say, of the perfect right of a meeting to control its own proceedings.'

2. Party meetings.—Since on the promoters of a meeting rests the whole responsibility connected with it, including the trouble of preliminary arrangements, the expense and so forth, the promoters are entitled to lay down by announcement in calling the meeting the conditions on which the business is to be transacted. Such conditions as may thus be announced are binding on all who respond to the summons. It is seldom, indeed, that any other conditions are prescribed than are involved in the definition of the purpose of the meeting, and it is always understood, when a person is named as intended to take the chair, that his nomination is subject to the approval of the meeting. But any condition is valid, provided it be clearly set forth or implied, and provided it be not contrary to the law of the land. Where, then, the meeting has been called in furtherance of a previously defined policy or a party interest, only such persons as are in general harmony with the avowed object have any right to take part in the proceedings, though the meeting may not be a private one in the sense of shutting out all who are hostile to the aims of the promoters. Opponents, when they are present, are present on sufferance. They are not members of the meeting. They have no claim to be heard and no right to vote. Any motion or amendment, therefore, that contradicts the purpose for which the meeting has been convened, is on the very face of it incompetent. The chairman is bound to disallow it, and he may call in the aid of the police to remove, on a charge of breach of the peace, any person who persists in attacking his authority in the matter.* In exceptional circumstances, as where there are more than a few of those present whose conduct strikes against the object of the meeting and so makes for disorder, he may be warranted in adjourning or dissolving the meeting. The authority thus exercised by the chairman, in refusing to entertain motions or amendments which are inconsistent with the predetermined object of the meeting, and in enforcing obedience to his ruling

* *Sleigh and Russell* v. *Moxey*, 1850, Shaw's *Just. Court Rep.*, p. 369.

of such motions or amendments as incompetent, so far from being arbitrarily assumed and so far from being derived *ab extra*, in truth expresses and represents the will which is definitive of the purpose of the meeting—the will, that is to say, of the promoters, and of those who have assembled in support of the object stated in the summons.

For the rest, the relation of the chairman to the meeting is exactly the same as in the case, already considered, of a public meeting, where the purpose of the meeting does not commit beforehand those who constitute the meeting to the adoption of a specified policy or to the support of a particular side on this or that question. In the event of disagreement between the chairman and the meeting, the chairman must give way, if the meeting so insist. At times, it is true, his decision, though it be obviously contrary to the mind of the meeting, is either allowed to pass without express challenge, or, after objection has been stated, is accepted as final without further demur or any formal protest. This deference to the chair, or to the particular person who occupies the chair, is a tribute to the efficiency with which the functions usually entrusted to the chairman are in general discharged, and is not peculiar to the membership of party meetings. Of course, where the issue is of serious consequence, the meeting would stultify itself by acquiescing in a ruling at variance with its own mind, and in every such case therefore it is morally bound, since it has the power, to assert itself against the chairman, even at the cost of perhaps losing his services.

The law relating to party meetings, so far as it is not also the law of public meetings, finds illustration in the case of *Sleigh and Russell* v. *Moxey.** A suspension was brought in the High Court of Justiciary by Mr. Sleigh and Mr. Russell of a sentence which had been passed on them in the police court of Edinburgh. The facts set forth in the complaint or otherwise established were in brief these:—that, in compliance with a requisition, the Lord Provost had called a meeting of the inhabitants of Edinburgh and its vicinity opposed to the Bill then before Parliament for legalizing the marriage of a widower with his deceased wife's

* *Supra.*

sister, with the view of petitioning against the Bill; that the requisitionists, or some of them, together with other opponents of the Bill, had duly assembled at the appointed time and place; that the Lord Provost, having been chosen by the meeting to be its chairman, had presided; that, after the first resolution had been proposed and seconded, Mr. Sleigh had risen to speak; that he had evidently come to oppose and obstruct the proceedings; that, had he been allowed to proceed, he would evidently have been the cause of general annoyance and disturbance; that, in disregard of repeated admonitions from the chair, and against the manifest feeling of the meeting, he had persisted in his attempts to make himself heard in objection to the predetermined purpose of the meeting; that, as the only means of restoring order and preventing more serious consequences, he had been taken into custody; that afterwards Mr. Russell, having acted in like manner, had in like manner been removed; and that then the business of the meeting had proceeded without interruption. The Court refused the note of suspension, or, in other words, dismissed the appeal.

Commenting on this case, when six and thirty years later it was made the ground of argument for the respondent in *Armour's* case, Lord Craighill pointed out * the difference between the two meetings as regarded constitution, the earlier one having been, 'not a general public meeting' but 'a meeting of persons asserting particular views,' so that 'any one, not being of those who supported those views, who sought to interfere, was obviously the occasion to public discord, and to a disturbance by which people were prevented from considering those matters to consider which was the purpose of the meeting.' Lord M'Laren, who concurred in the observations of Lord Craighill as to the case of *Sleigh*, added †:—'The case there stands on the same footing as a private meeting. Any person introducing himself into such a meeting, to oppose the views to support which it was convened, or to introduce any irrelevant matter, might be summarily ejected.' The chairman who ordered the ejection would not be

* 13 Rettie (*Just. Cas.*), 44. † *Ibid.*, 44.

answerable in damages for any injury that might be inflicted on the offender by the policemen or others who acted on the order.*

3. Meetings of continuing bodies.—The object, as defined in the constitution, of a continuing body necessarily sets limits to the activity of any meeting. But, over and above the ultimate and general criterion of competency thus established, other and more specific conditions, bearing directly on the procedure at meetings, are commonly embodied in standing orders. These standing orders, being mostly of voluntary adoption, are *pro tanto* susceptible of alteration or amendment from time to time by a proper exertion of the will of the body to that effect, and they even provide in general for their own suspension at any meeting under precautions calculated to guard against abuse of the proviso. If the relation between chairman and meeting be at all different in the case of a meeting of a continuing body from what it is in the case of an ordinary public or party meeting, the difference must be determined by the constitution of the body or by the standing orders. There is no other possible source of difference. Now, the same reason which prompts a continuing body to lay down rules for the conduct of business requires it to bind by these rules the chairman of any meeting as well as those over whom he presides, and forbids it to give the chairman powers as against the meeting which he does not possess at common law. It is, to say the least, as vitally the interest of the body to preserve freedom of debate and freedom of resolution as it is to secure order. Order, indeed, and all rules of procedure enacted with a view to order, are properly to be thought of only as instrumental to such freedom. Hence it is in the last degree improbable that any continuing body would by an act of its own will vest the chairman of its meetings with authority which he might exercise to the effect of annulling the common law right of the meetings, as of all other meetings, to control their own proceedings; and, so far as appears, no continuing body has ever done so. Nor, where the body is the creature of statute, does the statute creating it confer in any instance on the chairman power to contravene the constitutionally expressed will of a meeting or

* *Lucas* v. *Mason*, 1875, Law Reports, 10 Exchequer 251.

power to prevent the constitutional expression of that will.* Almost uniformly in modern practice such a statute gives the chairman a second or casting vote, to which he has no right at common law;† but *quoad ultra* it leaves the ordinary relation of chairman and meeting unchanged. The reason is plain. A meeting, in order to have motive or meaning at all, must be free, within the limits of the purpose for which it is convened, to utter its mind or will. Let it be made subject to arbitrary rule on the part of its chairman, and the sole condition on which it can claim respect for its proceedings is at once destroyed.

Here, however, it is in place to note that there may in certain cases be matters connected with the business of a meeting which have to be decided immediately on their presenting themselves, but which, because they are not the business of the meeting, fall to be decided by the chairman in virtue of authority derived from the constitution or a standing order of the body represented by the meeting. Thus, for example, in an English case,‡ where the chairman at a confirmation meeting disallowed certain votes which had been given against the confirmation of a resolution passed at the first meeting appointing a liquidator, the effect of such disallowance being to confirm the resolution, and he made an entry in the minute book that the resolution had been confirmed, the court, in the absence of evidence that the votes were improperly disallowed, declined to question the decision of the chairman. But having regard to the unsatisfactory state of the evidence, the Court of Appeal in the interest of all parties by its own order confirmed the appointment of the liquidator. The validity of the votes was not a question for the meeting, if for no deeper reason than that what might be the mind of the meeting depended on the validity of the votes. Even for the chairman the question was a proper one only as incidental to the duty which lay on him *ex officio* to take the poll. His deciding of it

* A recent ordinance of the Universities Commission, affecting the General Councils of the four Universities of Scotland, has given the chairmen of these bodies this unprecedented power.

† *Campbell* v. *Stirling*, 1816, 6. *Paton*, 238.

‡ *In re* Indian Zoedone Company, 1884, Law Reports, 26 Chanc. Div. 70.

one way or the other was necessary to enable him to discharge the special function which, as chairman, he was under a statutory requirement to discharge; but his decision, though definitive relatively to that function, was open to challenge on the merits, and might be set aside on subsequent appeal to the court. In delivering judgment in the case the Lord Chancellor (Selborne), after referring to the sixty-seventh section of the Companies Act, 1862, as shewing 'that the minutes in the books are to be received, not as conclusive, but as *prima facie* evidence of resolutions and proceedings at general meetings,' went on to say 'and also it may be added, and I think correctly, that inasmuch as the chairman who presides at such meetings, and has to receive the poll and declare the result, has *prima facie* authority to decide all emergent questions which necessarily require decision at the time, his decision of those questions will naturally govern, and properly govern, the entry of the minute in the books; and, though in no sense conclusive, it throws the burden of proof upon the other side, who may say, contrary to the entry in the minute-book, following the decision of the chairman, that the result of the poll was different from that there recorded.'

The same principle is illustrated in a different state of facts by another English case.* At a meeting to elect a mayor the votes were equal. The retiring mayor as chairman, acting in accordance with his statutory duty in the circumstances, declared that there was no election. He then, without any objection from those present, dissolved the meeting, and accompanied by several electors left the room. After his departure a new meeting was constituted under the chairmanship of the person entitled to preside in the mayor's absence, and a form of election was gone through. The Court held the election void, as having been accomplished by surprise and fraud and without notice. Neither the declaration of the chairman as to the result of the voting, nor (the election being supposed a condition precedent to the transaction of other business) his declaration that the proceedings were at an end, was a matter competent to be called in question

* *Rex* v. *Gaborian*, 1809, 11 East, King's Bench Reports, 77. *Cf.* also *Machell* v. *Nevinson*, 1725, 11 East, 85, 87n.

by the meeting. Both declarations were made in the exercise of authority derived from the constitution of the continuing body—the municipal corporation—represented by the meeting. Both were bound by the constitution to be made.

Where the constitution and the standing orders under which a continuing body exists are unambiguous in their terms, there is practically no danger of difference between a meeting and its chairman as to matters thus determined. But now and then, from some cause or other, controversy may arise as to the application of a standing order, say, or the interpretation of some article of the constitution. The chairman's own reading of the regulation cannot on any principle of reason be allowed to prevail against that of the meeting. There is here, as elsewhere, a presumption in favour of the correctness of the view taken by the majority. The chairman, therefore, however steadfastly he may hold to his opinion, must, if he fail to convince or persuade the meeting, put the question moved from the side of his opponents, and, on its receiving the greater number of votes, must declare it carried. To put the question and declare the result is a purely administrative act on his part, which his duty as chairman requires him to perform, and his performance of which is absolutely without prejudice to any interest he may have in afterwards bringing the decision of the meeting before a Court of Law. He cannot refuse to put the question on the plea of its being incompetent, for its competency or incompetency is the very point at issue. He may choose to leave the chair rather than put the question, but he cannot prevent the meeting from proceeding under another chairman, except, of course, in the rare case, already considered, of his being a statutory chairman, and of there being no provision by the constitution or the standing orders for the event of his absence or withdrawal.

Many points of order, including most questions as to the competency of motions or amendments, cannot be specifically determined, or brought by instance within rule, until they actually emerge. These are by far the most apt to occasion difference between chairman and meeting, and *a fortiori* of them the decision of the chairman is valid only as it carries the assent of the meeting. In respect of such points of order there is nothing

to distinguish a meeting of a continuing body from a public or a party meeting governed simply by the common law. The authority of the chairman to say what is in order and what is not has the same basis and the same sanction in the one case as in the others. Its basis is the will of the meeting, and its sanction is the common law. Of right, then, any conflict between the ruling of the chairman and the will of the meeting must end, as of right in a public meeting it ends, in the chairman's being over-ruled. On a motion made and seconded to the effect that his ruling does not express the mind of the meeting, he is bound to put the question and to declare the result. If the result be adverse to the decision which he has given, he must bow to the authority which any authority vested in him only expresses or reflects.

The duty of a chairman to put the question and declare the result, even when the motion is one which proposes to reverse his ruling, is unqualified. At common law his sole function is to ascertain and express the mind of the meeting. He is not the judge of order, though most meetings, as a matter of expediency, allow him to act in the exercise of this office, under reservation of their own ultimate right.† But the function which the law lays on him he must discharge, or else he must vacate the chair. The records of the House of Commons furnish a memorable example of discharge of the function in the extreme case of a motion directed, not against a ruling from the chair, but against the occupant of the chair for alleged corruption. In the year 1695 Sir John Trevor, then Speaker of the House, was expelled on the ground of his having taken bribes to further the passing of a bill, and he had not only to put the question which affirmed his guilt, but to declare that 'the ayes' had it.*

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* The House of Lords, which has a chairman *ex officio* in the person of the Lord Chancellor, retains in its own hands the settlement of all questions of order. Had there been any Court of Law with jurisdiction to determine differences between him and it, the House might long ago have conformed to the more convenient practice of the House of Commons, which, as it elects and can dismiss its Speaker, vests him in large measure with its own authority.

† Macaulay's *History of England*, chap. xxi.

It is conceivable that a chairman *ex officio* might refuse to put a particular question, especially if it sought to reverse his ruling on some point of order. Were he to do so, and were he the only person capable, under the constitution of the body, of taking the chair, a practical impediment to the transaction of business would arise, insuperable otherwise than by recourse to a Court of Law. But in the event of there being, as usual, provision for a devolution, in case of need, of the chair on one designated person after another, and in the end on any person whom the meeting might see fit to elect, a refusal by the chairman to put the question, even if accompanied by a refusal to leave the chair, would seem not to create any such serious difficulty. There is no judicial authority on the point, but the principle applicable to the circumstances can hardly be in doubt. Wherever A, or in his absence B, has by statute or otherwise a right to take the chair, the right so established necessarily implies the duty of performing the proper function of a chairman; and it stands to reason that a refusal to fulfil the duty involves, for as long as the refusal lasts, a forfeiture of the right. The chairman's refusal, therefore, to put the question, or, having put it, to act on the decision of the meeting, suspends his right to be in the chair, and, because the meeting must have a chairman, entitles any member to move that the person next in order of designation, or, in default of such person, then some one else, do take the chair. The chair being at the moment vacant *de jure*, though perhaps occupied *de facto*, the meeting may, if it see need, commission some person who is present to declare its mind on the motion. The new chairman, armed with the authority of the meeting, is entitled, in the event of resistance, to enforce his predecessor's removal.

Powers which at common law belong to the members of a continuing body in meeting assembled may, without derogation from the autonomy of the body, be vested in the chairman, even when he sits *ex officio*, provided that, as regards the exercise of those powers, the ministerial character of his office be preserved. As long as there is nothing in the constitution or the standing orders to the contrary, this condition is satisfied in the case, which is in fact the ordinary case, of the chairman's being traditionally clothed with a prerogative in matters of order by the tacit con-

sent of those over whom he presides. In the case, however, of his deriving the authority from an express grant contained in a standing order, it is essential to the free activity of the body that the common law right of every meeting should in effect be reserved by the insertion of a proviso declaring that it shall be open to any member to move that the meeting disagree with the chairman's ruling, and declaring further that, if such motion on its being duly seconded be supported by a majority of the members voting, the decision of the chairman shall be held reversed.

The explicit enactment of a regulation in the terms now suggested is a point of prudence, for it obviates the ignorance which, when the true relation of chairman and meeting is not thus made clear, often causes the chairman to assume magisterial authority and the meeting to suffer defeat of its will. When the dependence of the chairman on the support of the meeting is perfectly understood, all experience, from that of the House of Commons downwards, goes to show that the chairman's consciousness of responsibility quickens and keeps alive his endeavour so to conduct the proceedings as to deserve support, and that, on the other hand, the meeting's confidence in his general rectitude and discretion predisposes it on every occasion to accept his decision as final. A chairman who has the qualities that fit a man for the position can usually show some reason for his ruling, so that in most cases of its being disputed he is able by a few words of explanation to remove objection, or at any rate to satisfy the meeting as a whole. If he discover that he has made a mistake, he can always by correcting the mistake command respect and smooth the way for what business remains to be done. If, notwithstanding indications of dissent, he still believe that he is in the right, he may insist on a formal motion to test the mind of the meeting; but, if the vote be against the decision which he has pronounced, then he must yield. Having stated and recommended his view, he is not concerned, in his character of chairman, to uphold that view against the will of the meeting. No censure is involved in the meeting's disagreeing with his ruling. Where he has been elected by the meeting, he may perhaps take the rejection of his guidance in a particular matter to mean that the confidence in his judgment expressed in his nomination and

appointment has not been held justified, and on this assumption he cannot with due regard to his own dignity continue in the chair. But where he presides *ex officio*, he is no more entitled to consider a reversal of his ruling a personal affront or slight than the mover of any resolution is entitled so to consider the meeting's refusal to pass the resolution. Being irremovable by the meeting, and yet deriving his authority solely from its will, the chairman *ex officio* has no right to feel offended or aggrieved, if the meeting sometimes follow a course contrary to that which he has pointed out as in his view the proper one; but in consideration of those services in the conduct of business which, although they are beyond the strict limits of his duty, custom exacts from him, he has such a claim to special deference as the courtesy of the meeting may always be trusted to allow.

W. R. Herkless.

Art. VII.—PIERRE LOTI AND THE SEA.

WE have heard much of late of the sea in connection with history. It has been reserved for an American to show the influence which the ocean has exercised over the development of great States, the part which it has played in the drama of international politics. The work in which all this is traced is becoming a text book in our Universities. Its author has been recently in our midst; and we have accorded to him the highest tokens of British hospitality—dinners and degrees.

It would be interesting perhaps if some one would pursue an enquiry on similar lines in reference to literature. To trace the influence of the sea over the poets and imaginative writers of Europe would surely be an entrancing task. Nor would it be one involving much labour or research, the area of enquiry hardly extending further backwards than the present century. For the love of the sea seems to be a passion of very recent evolution. In the early ages of the world the ocean appears

to have been viewed from a strictly utilitarian standpoint. It was a road to discovery and conquest. It was a defence against foreign foes; or—the fixed idea of English mediæval politicians—a highway facilitating attack. Or again, it was a means of stimulating an undue love of commerce, and occasioning the influx of a restless population, dangerous to a well-ordered State: thus Aristotle advises that there be little communication between a city and its harbour, and Plato declares that the ideal State must be placed at some distance from the sea, which 'begets in the souls of men unfaithful ways.'

It is in the north of Europe that a feeling of the *sea's* mysterious and fascinating *personality*, its attractiveness, its irresistible power, is first developed. Norse literature exhibits a sense of comradeship, a fierce delight in its wild freedom. The legends of Brittany and Sark and Cornwall are imbued with its mystery and terror. But it is not till the present century that the *love* of the sea is plainly visible in literature. Dante has a few sweet lines indicative of observation of certain marine aspects; Shakespeare, some fine descriptive passages scattered throughout his plays, together with Ariel's songs and the storm scene of the *Tempest;* but we have to wait for Byron and Shelley and Heine for any real traces of susceptibility to the sea's indefinable power. Matthew Arnold, Tennyson, and more than either, Swinburne, have shown us their acute perception of 'deep sea-meanings' and 'sea-magic'; and Ruskin has described the aspects of sky and ocean in some of his most magnificent out-pourings of prose poetry.

For typical examples of the influence of the sea on the novel we must look, strange to say, to France. There has been a good many English stories of nautical life; and of late years, a voyage in a P. & O. steamer or Atlantic Liner has become an almost indispensable incident in the life of a hero or heroine. It is a far harder, and quite a different thing, to write a novel of the sea,—to put upon paper something of the ocean's fulness of life, its great monotony, its endless variety; and no other nation has produced anything in this direction which can compare with Victor Hugo's *Travailleurs de la Mer*, or with the work of that latest of sea-novelists, the French

naval officer, inscribed in the Navy List as Jules Viaud, but received into the Academy, and known to the world, as Pierre Loti. No other writer so completely makes us feel what Sharpe has called the 'strange magnetic glamour of the sea,' through all its varying moods and aspects. He shows us it by night and day, in calm and storm, in fog and sunshine, under the southern cross and beneath the pale twilight of the midnight sun: and true literary magician, he calls up before our mental vision scenes which our bodily eyes have never beheld; while an adjective or adverb in his hands becomes a spell making us feel the clinging dampness of a sea-mist, or the saltness of the spray-filled atmosphere, or 'the humid freshness, more penetrating than real cold,' of the northern seas.

Again Pierre Loti is one of the few writers who have distinctly shown the sea's formative power on human character. We cannot think of Yves or Yann, Gaud or Sylvestre, apart from their surroundings. We cannot imagine them living inland. They are the sea's children. The Breton peasants of *Pêcheur d'Islande* belong to their environment as much as the grey rocks and stunted trees belong to that wind-swept coast.

It is not a little significant that the two books by Pierre Loti which have acquired, and are likely to retain, most popularity, are those in which the influence of the sea is conspicuous. There is a breezy vitality about them which contrasts favourably with the languor of his other writings. *La bonne odeur des navires et de la mer* seems to keep them sweet and wholesome. His earlier books are undoubtedly unique in their peculiar grace, in their curious originality of fancy, and in the quality of that indescribable attribute which we vaguely indicate as *charm*. But undeniably also they contain a good deal of meretricious sentiment, a good deal that is forced, artificial, and unwholesome. Neither the subtle exotic perfume of *Le Mariage de Loti*, nor the dreamy sweetness and penetrating pathos of *Fantôme d'Orient* and *Aziyadé*, can deaden our perceptions of the fact, that these books are at once the outcome and expression of finished and essential selfishness. They display a childlike irresponsibility,

which attracts or repels according to the reader's mood, but which necessarily takes all the humanity out of them. They are brimful of emotion, and utterly devoid of heart, and through them runs the listlessness and affectation of the dilettante and amateur.

In France they attracted the notice of connoisseurs of literary style, but never attained anything approaching popularity. In this country they never have been, and are never likely to be widely read. On the whole, at this stage of Pierre Loti's fame, it were perhaps best that they should be forgotten.

Nor will the collection of brief unconnected sketches entitled *Livre de la Pitié et de la Mort*, materially add to their author's reputation, while the English translation of this recent work—though proving that anything bearing Pierre Loti's name is now eagerly welcomed—is calculated to diminish, rather than enhance its popularity on this side of the Channel. For the charm of these slight sketches lies in the peculiar touch of the artist, in the perfect correspondence between the words used and the emotions and impressions they are intended to convey, and to reproduce the subtle grace of Pierre Lotis' French would be an impossible literary feat. The delicate aroma of his style evaporates in translation, leaving a residuum of flavourless sentimentality. In our matter of fact English tongue, his pathos becomes almost ludicrous; his extraordinary unreserve seems bald and unpleasing; his parade of personal grief is distressing, almost repulsive.

On the whole we may say that Pierre Loti's fame at present rests upon *Le Roman d'un Enfant*, *Pëcheur d'Islande*, and *Mon Frère Yves*; and in these three books, the influence, the *personality* of the sea, is unceasingly kept before us. Whether, or in what degree, we enjoy these books, necessarily depends upon our individual tastes. But whatever measure of appreciation or of censure we accord to them, we must at least acknowledge that they are unlike anything we have read before.

Pierre Loti is too essentially the product of this end of the nineteenth century to have any literary ancestors; while his writings have a certain quality which marks him off from his

contemporaries, and makes us look forward to a new and healthier future; a quality which may best be indicated by some words of his own. 'The ideal,' he declared in his Academic oration—'the ideal is everlasting. It may be concealed; it may sleep for a time. But already, at the end of our century, it is awaking, with Mysticism, its brother. They are not quite the same perhaps as in past days. They seem troubled, dizzy, scarcely knowing what to cling to in the general confusion. But they are still alive, and we are once more beginning to behold them through the murky smoke of Realism.'

So completely does Pierre Loti stand alone, that it is difficult even to name an author with whom one can compare him. The only writer of whom he occasionally distinctly reminds us is Nathaniel Hawthorne. The New Englander and the Frenchman, separated in time by the dividing line of the half-century, have at least this in common: both of them seem nearly to have found what Pierre Loti professes to desire, 'a special language in which to write of dreams and visions.' The sketch entitled *Rêve*, the pearl of the *Pity and Death* collection, certain passages in *Pêcheur d'Islande*, and two or three chapters in *Le Roman d'un Enfant*, remind one strangely of *Mosses from an Old Manse* and *Tangled Tales*. There is the same subdued melancholy, the same haunting power, the same extreme tenuity of structure and minute delicacy of touch. But the peculiar 'twilight atmosphere,' and ghostly eeriness, as well as the noble Puritanism of the New Englander have no counterparts in the work of the modern Frenchman; while Loti far surpasses Hawthorne in the power of putting into language 'd'insaisissables choses,' and describing vague emotions, broken memories, inexplicable sensations. Nowhere is this power so conspicuously displayed as in *Le Roman d'un Enfant*.

The book has a triple interest. Pierre Loti himself describes it as 'le livre le plus intime que j'ai jamais écrit,' and to many of his admirers its biographical and personal character constitutes its greatest charm.

Secondly, it presents us with a series of delicately tinted pictures of a phase of French domestic life peculiar to certain

old provincial towns—and, even in them, rapidly passing away—a 'vie de famille,' almost idyllic in its restful simplicity, lived in one of those tall, roomy, whitewashed 'maisons de province'—'donnant sur la rue,' but with delightful walled gardens at the back—which are large enough to contain a perfect tribe of relatives, who live together in marvellous amity, assembling each evening round the family dining-table, and afterwards sitting together in the sheltered 'cour,' or the great wainscotted 'salon.'

Lastly, the *Roman d'un Enfant* is a minutely accurate study of the 'mysterious beginnings' and gradual development of a child's mind and character.

'Is there anyone,' writes George Eliot, in the *Mill on the Floss*, 'who can recover the experience of his childhood, not merely with the remembrance of what he did, and what happened to him when he was in frock and trousers, but with an intimate penetration, a revived consciousness of what he felt then, when it was so long from midsummer to midsummer?'

Pierre Loti has done so. As we read the *Roman d'un Enfant*, our own fading recollections acquire renewed distinctness. Once more we look on life with the child's oblique, contracted, yet curiously acute vision; once more the winter twilight inspires us with vague uneasiness, and the wild flowers in the hedges, or the freshness of a spring morning, fill us with joyous excitement; once more we feel our old unmitigated confidence in the 'grown-up-people,' whose stories of 'when they were young' seem like antique myths; once more we suffer the confused questionings, the formless terrors, the agonizing scruples, the 'bitter sorrows' of childhood.

Yes, Pierre Loti has translated into 'grown-up' speech the 'insaisissables choses' of childhood, and the *Roman d'un Enfant* appeals to us because it puts into language things we too have experienced, but could not have explained. Perhaps we shall agree with his protest against the popular notions that childhood is a time of supreme and careless gaiety, the happiest period of human existence. Perhaps we shall echo his decision when, looking back on those early days from the vantage

ground of manhood, he declares that he has 'never suffered in his grown-up life as he did when he was a child.'

Undoubtedly these childish sufferings may in great measure be attributed to the super-sensitiveness induced by the peculiar circumstances of his child-life. We see him, a docile, timid, solitary child, growing up among devoted relatives, not exactly over-indulged—for there is a certain austerity about this Huguenot family—but 'too forced, too looked-after, too morally and physically coddled *(calfentré)*.' His fits of vague restlessness, his passionate longing for a life of travel and unfettered roaming—emotions which Pierre Loti evidently regards as singular and significant—seem to his readers merely a boy's natural revulsion from an unnatural existence. Possibly, too, some of little Pierre's most painful childish impressions are less abnormal than M. Loti supposes them to be. We venture, for example, to assert that many children have shared his dread of growing up, of growing old, and his momentary, sickening realizations of the swift, swift flight of time, bringing him ever nearer to 'Ce grand trou béant de la mort.'

It is perhaps because Pierre Loti finds it impossible to look beyond that 'yawning gulf' that he refers so frequently to the idea of some previous existence—'a shadowy hope, derived from the inexplicable intuitions of childhood. Certain mental experiences, he thinks, can be explained only as 'ressouvenirs de pré-existences personelles.' And, with this notion, he invariably associates another—the idea of hereditary forces, shaping his life with the power of an inexorable destiny. On these two cords of thought the stray reminiscences of youth are strung. Each event of childhood is shown in relation to the Past and to the Future.

Look, for example, at the chapter describing little Pierre's first sight of the sea. The vast stretch of green waters filled him with a strange terror, but no surprise. He had always known it was like this. *He recognised it, and trembled.* It was so cruel, so sinister, so strangely attractive. As he stood there, face to face with it, some dim presentiment—so Pierre believes—forced itself into his childish soul that this sea would some day claim him for its own, as it had done his sailor-ancestors,

'despite my hesitations, despite the wishes of those who would fain have kept me by them.'

Little Pierre has none of the ordinary boy's infatuation for a sailor's life. Its roughness, and the long absences from home which it entails, make it positively distasteful to the delicately nurtured child, 'trop attaché au foyer, trop enlacé de mille liens très doux.' But every picture, story, relic, of the tropics seems *to touch a chord of memory*, and to quicken a desire for the life of those 'pays chaud,' till the thought of 'going through the world without seeing it' becomes intolerable.

Then, one day, by a chance so curious that one can hardly wonder that Pierre Loti regards the circumstance with a touch of superstitious awe, an old log-book, 'un cahier en gros papier rude d'autrefois,' reveals to him the possibility of satisfaction in a sailor's life.

'Beau temps—Belle mer—Legére brise de Sud Est—Des bancs de dorades qui passent par bâbord.'

These brief words, read hastily, stealthily, in the gathering twilight, continually haunt him. And ever, like some magical incantation, they call up before the boy's quick fancy visions of the 'vast, melancholy, blue splendour of the Southern Ocean.'

Little by little the idea of a naval career takes possession of him. Circumstances conspire to break down the opposition of his relatives. And thus the sea draws him forth 'as with a magnet,' despite his 'many hesitations.'

The life which had at once attracted and repelled little Pierre, the life of the sea, with its charm and its hardships, its freedom and its restraints, was depicted with extraordinary faithfulness and vigour in the book which first acquired for its author wide-spread literary popularity. *Mon Frère Yves*, brought into notice by M. Brunnetierè's critique in *La Revue de deux Mondes*, immediately caught the Parisian fancy. It dealt with no vexed questions, it propounded no new doctrines. It had very little incident,—for avowedly Pierre Loti had put into it 'the great monotony of the sea'; nor had it brilliancy of dialogue, or dramatic situations, or the 'restless love' which

had pervaded its author's earlier works. But its spontaneity and freshness made it a new sensation.

Its plot may be briefly summarized. Yves is a Breton and a sailor, with the virtues and the vices of a Breton and a sailor. 'On board always indefatigable and industrious, neat and spruce. On shore, drunken and rowdy; the sailor picked out of the gutter in the morning, plundered and half-naked, and who fights with gendarmes and draws his knife upon alguazils.' He has the true Breton's curiously opposed characteristics:—fine physique and huge physical strength, combined with the gay insouciance and inherent simplicity and goodness of a little child, immense powers of endurance, yet childish lack of self-control; capacity for dog-like affection, and for love, which, to quote the words of M. Renan, is nearly always 'discret, tendre, fidèle, avec une legère teinte de mysticité,' together with a terrible, well-nigh ineradicable passion for drink,—'that irremediable curse which consumes the race of Breton seafarers.'

Yves is half a savage, but he is tender-hearted and intelligent, and possesses a certain natural dignity and tact which largely supply the lack of education; while his capacity for silent musing, and susceptibility to the various moods and aspects of nature constitute real points of contact between himself and 'Monsieur Pierre,'—the officer with whom he has been thrown repeatedly from the very outset of their respective careers, and whom he serves devotedly as 'gabier de hamac.' Little by little, under the influence of 'Monsieur Pierre's' sympathy and interest, which deepens into sincere paternal affection, Yves Kermadec succeeds in 'working out the brute,' and frees himself from the slavery of an hereditary vice. As his character ripens and grows more complex, it seems to take a deeper shade of melancholy. But we take leave of him self-possessed and self-respecting, happy in the love of wife and child, and dwelling—ever the Breton sailor's dream—in a little house of his own, in which a room is always kept for 'Monsieur Pierre.'

This is the plot of *Mon Frère Yves*. The mad pranks, the striving after better things, the relapses, the repentance of a

common sailor—that is all. But the narrative is accompanied by the monotonous, ever-varying music of the sea, and interspersed with pictures of Breton life and scenery, soft, grey, low-toned landscapes, exquisitely faithful and tender.

We select at random a sketch of the home of Yves' sweet young peasant wife, Marie Keremenen. She and her husband are staying with the 'old people' during one of Yves' brief sojourns on shore; and there Monsieur Pierre pays them a few day's visit.

'Toulven in the spring-time, with the lanes full of primroses.

'Through the great leafless woods, through the naked boughs of oaks and beeches, passes the first warm breath of spring, bringing to us in this gay Brittany an effluence of other lands, a memory of brighter climes, and announcing the approach of a short pale summer, with long, long sweet evenings.

'We are all assembled outside the cottage door; the two old Keremenen, Yves, his wife, little Corentine, and little Pierre.

'"Take me up, take me up, God-father!" cries little Peter, stretching out his arms to me.

'But his father wants to have him. Raising the little creature high in his arms, he perches him on the top of his head. Little Peter laughs to find himself so tall, and clutches at the mossy branches of the over-hanging trees.

'The banner of the Virgin passes, borne by two youths of serious and meditative mien. They are followed by the men of Toulven and Trémeulé, all bare-headed, carrying their wide-brimmed beavers in their hands, with their long hair—the blond curls of youth and the snowy locks of age—falling over Breton vests, adorned with gold embroideries. Behind them come the women, with black embroidered bodices, white flapping head-gear, and a low buzz of Celtic syllables.

. . . . . .

'It passes by, and the sounds grow fainter. Now it is nothing but a long thread of great winged coifs, and snowy ruffs, zig-zagging upwards, between narrow walls of moss, towards the Parish Church of St. Eloi.

. . . . . .

'Now it has altogether disappeared, lost in the depths of distant beech-woods. In the path it has traversed one sees nothing but the tender green of the young grass, strewn with tufts of primroses; "rathe" blooms, which die before the sun can look on them, crowded together in large sulphur-coloured patches, of that peculiar milky shade one sees in amber. The Breton peasants call them *Fleurs de Lait.*

. . . . . .

'While the family are in council, little Peter and I gather flowers in the woods of Toulven; handfuls of flowers; pale primroses, and violet peri-

winkles, and deep blue borage, and even a few pink campions, the first of the year. Little Peter is much excited. He hardly knows which flower to run to first. He works hard; every now and then sighing deeply, as though quite overwhelmed by the importance of his task. He brings his spoils to me by instalments. The flowers have very short stalks, and are crumpled up in his little hot hands.

'We stayed so long in the woods that the folks at home stationed Corentine in the path to look out for us. I could see her in the distance, dancing and jumping by herself, her great cap and white collar flapping in the breeze. She saw us, and called out loudly: "Here they come, here they come! Big Peter and Little Peter, hand in hand!" Then she turned the words into a song, and dancing to the tune of some lively Breton air, chanted:—

"See they come, they come,
Walking hand in hand,
Peter Small and Peter Big."

'She danced on, her white cap and large ruff flapping up and down, like a little marionette gone mad. And darkness, the dreary darkness of a March night closed in beneath the canopy of leafless branches, and a sudden chill shuddered through the woods after the warm sunshine of the day.'

Lack of space, combined with dislike to the task of selection, prevents us from giving any example of the sea-pictures with which *Mon Frère Yves* abounds. Not even in *Pêcheur d'Islande* do we find anything more complete in a few vigorous touches than the sketch of the Isle of Teneriffe; or more mournfully impressive than the description of a burial at sea; or more calmly beautiful than the picture of night in the Coral Seas. Nor is the chapter in *Mon Frère Yves* describing the storm off the coast of China greatly, if at all, inferior to the celebrated description of the tempest which assails the northern fishing fleet in *Pêcheur d'Islande*. A man of war is a less picturesque object than a fishing-smack; and its disciplined crew are not such romantic figures as the hardy 'Islandais;' but for boldness of treatment, for vitality and strength, for power of suggesting human helplessness and the terror of the sea, it is hard to choose between these two descriptions.

But if *Pêcheur d'Islande* hardly surpasses the earlier 'vie de matelot' in pictorial power, and in its presentment of peasant life merely reproduces and extends the charm of the earlier

Breton story, it undoubtedly possesses a unity and completeness which, of necessity, were absent from *Mon Frère Yves* and *Roman d'un Enfant.* It has a new grasp and vigour and directness, a real depth of poetry, an absence of morbid self-consciousness, which raises it above the level of all its author's previous writings. For the first time we feel that Pierre Loti's subject has carried him away.

A modern writer has spoken of *Pêcheur d'Islande* as 'the Epic of the Sea,' and the phrase is in truth a piece of concentrated criticism. For the sea in *Pêcheur d'Islande* does something more than it does in *Mon Frère Yves.* It no longer merely serves as chorus to the human drama, but is itself the chief actor in a tragedy of peasant life. Pierre Loti seems to return to the predominant thought of *Le Roman d'un Enfant.* He invests the sea with a sort of malign, sinister, siren-like personality, connecting with it the idea of an exorable Fate, against which man vainly struggles. As in an earlier book, *Le Roman d'un Spahi,* the sun wields a baneful influence over a mortal's destiny, so in this story of Breton fisher-life the ocean is represented as at issue with, and ultimately as vanquishing, a strong man's will and a woman's faithful love.

The action of the story passes partly in 'those fishing villages on the Breton coast, which are of the same colour as the rocks, and on which the wind beats the whole year through,' and partly amid 'the great silence' of the Northern seas, where the hardy race of Breton fishermen, known as 'Islandais,' ply their trade during the summer months.

The scene opens in the close, dimly-lit cabin of one of the fishing-smacks. The crew are drinking and smoking, while they dry their damp clothes at the stove. Their talk turns on the sweethearts and wives left at home, then on love and marriage in general. Only one of them, a handsome, fair-haired giant, is silent. He is a good-hearted fellow this Yann Gaos, despite the airs of superiority he gives himself on the score of the experience and scepticism acquired during his just completed five years of compulsory naval service The men jestingly enquire when they may expect his marriage, and he replies with an expression of contempt for womankind

in general, enforced by an anecdote which somewhat scandalises his simple, wholesome minded comrades. Then we are taken on deck, where through the long hours of the Arctic night the toil never ceases. Here the subject is renewed by Yann's fellow-worker, a young cousin. Yann ought certainly to marry, and indeed this young Sylvester could go further and name the bride. They had met at a wedding-dance, Yann and this Marguerite Mével—Gaud, as she is called in Breton speech. She is the daughter of the rich man of the village, but is as unspoilt and simple-minded as any maiden in Paimpol. Yann had made no secret of his admiration, and Gaud had quickly yielded him her heart. Yet Yann had left for the summer-fishing without a word of farewell. Partly from an honourable pride—for the Gaos are poor fisher-folk, and the beautiful daughter of M. Mével is an heiress in her village—partly from a wild love of freedom, and a sort of childish contrariness, partly from a feeling he can neither fathom or explain, the handsome young fisherman refuses to woo the woman he really loves. And now, in reply to Sylvester's vehement remark, he shrugs his shoulders, and answers lightly:—'I? Yes, to be sure; one of these days I will marry, but with no countrywoman of ours. No, my bride-elect is the sea, and I promise you all an invitation for our wedding-dance.'

Sylvester is too busy to reply to Yann's strange announcement; and the silent toil goes on uninterruptedly, while the dream-like light of dawn intensifies into the clear brightness of day. But the brightness does not penetrate into Sylvester's heart, filled with a chill foreboding by Yann's scoffing words.

The whole story takes its tone from this first chapter, with its wonderful descriptions of midnight and morning on the Northern seas. The beginning of the end is here. Instinctively we divine Yann's fate.

For two years Gaud loves, and hopes, and trembles. She sees Yann at rare intervals during the winter, but he seems scarcely nearer to her than when he is away at the summer-fishing. At last an accident, half ludicrous, half tragic, breaks down the barrier which had risen between them. Gaud has

lost her father and her fortune, and is working hard for her daily bread. Yann's pride is no longer an obstacle. The lovers understand one another at last.

They are married on a cold February day, when wind and sea prevent the wedding procession from reaching the little Chapel of the Trinity, visited, according to immemorial usage, by all the newly-married couples of the district. As the bride and bridegroom stand for a moment on the narrow, wind-swept path, arrested by the sight of the surf breaking over the shelf of rock behind, 'it seemed as though Yann were presenting his wife to the sea, and as though the sea received her ill.' The wind increases, the rain drives down, and the wedding-party hastily seek the shelter of the Gaos house.

At the close of the feast prayers are said for the dead, according to Breton usage, and fisherman after fisherman is named who has perished in these far off Northern seas. Then a Gaos cousin produces some wine,—the contents, he informs the party, of a cask, which he and some of his fellow-fishermen found one morning floating on the waves. And in this 'vin-de-naufrage,' with its slight briny flavour, the health of the newly-wedded pair is drunk. Under its influence the merriment grows boisterous. But the hoarse shriek of the wind, which shakes the granite house to its foundations, and the distant thunder of the surf upon the rocky coast of Plouherzel, almost drowns the human voices. The Gaos cousin remarks that the wind seems to resent their merriment. Yann shakes his head. 'It is not the wind that is vexed,' he says, 'but the sea; for I have broken my troth plight to her.'

The shadow of the parting and the future dims the brightness of Yann and Gaud's one week of wedded happiness. The evening before the *Leopoldine* is to sail the two stroll hand in hand along the cliff paths, with their wide outlook over the treeless coast and the great shimmering circle of the sea. Then Yann tells his bride how the sea looks beneath the spectral Northern sun,—a pale moon-like disc, which circles perpetually round the horizon; tells of the sombre Iceland coast, and the mountain fiords; tells of the little cemetery where the 'Islandais' who die during the summer fishing rest

in consecrated ground. Their graves marked by wooden crosses, 'just the same as with us.'

And Gaud—who cherishes a hope that this is the last summer in which her Yann will join the Northern fishing fleet—asks tremblingly whether he never wearies of the ceaseless monotonous toil of the summer.

His answer comes with a decision which causes her a pang. 'Never,' he says, 'never. Time never seems long or toil monotonous when one is at sea.' And poor Gaud bows her head sadly with a strange sense of jealousy and defeat.'

Summer passes on, and autumn comes once more, bringing with it one after another of the fishing fleet. But the *Leapoldine* is never seen again. The weeks drag on, and as the agonizing strain of hope deferred subsides into the dull pain of despair, we know that Gaud is slowly dying.

For a moment the reader is allowed to lift the veil which shrouds Yann's fate, and we have a mysterious glimpse of the ghastly celebration of his nuptials with the sea.

Thus this epic of the sea closes with a funeral dirge. There is no bow in the cloud which settles down upon these Breton peasants; no star of hope shines in the heavens above them; no drop of comfort falls upon Gaud's desolate soul. And in this Pierre Loti perhaps reveals that he is not—contrary to a very frequently made assertion—a Breton born and bred.

In virtue of his intuitive sympathy with aboriginal natures, 'ces êtres plus simples que nous,' and 'plus inconscients de la mort,' Loti has given us a picture, not simply accurate in outward detail, but deeply imbued with the spirit of the existence it depicts. Moreover, 'this gray Brittany,' with its desolate wind-swept heaths and April climate, possesses for him a unique and increasing fascination. He has penetrated far into the sentiment of this country of old times, whose melancholy charm and remoteness from modern life seem to touch a kindred strain in his own nature.

But Brittany is, after all, only the country of his adoption. He approaches it, as is natural for a stranger and a sailor, from the sea. Legends of local saints, pilgrimages and pardons, rites savouring of Druidism, and instinct with poetry, did not

enter into his earliest experiences. His Huguenot ancestry, his Protestant up-bringing, betray themselves. His melancholy is unrelieved by the glow of Breton faith, his fetishism is distinct from Breton superstition. We doubt if any Breton writer, however deeply imbued with modern scepticism, would have infused a Breton tale with the resigned pessimism, the unmitigated sadness, the Oriental fatalism which breathes through every chapter of *Pêcheur d'Islande.*

Yann and Gaud, Yvonne and Sylvester, are the helpless creatures of their environment, the playthings of an irresistible and malicious fate. The human will seems, to M. Loti, to dwindle into insignificance in face of the vast stretches of sea and sky. Nature, to whom he turns in disgust with the world's conventions, supplies him with no answer to the riddle of man's life. So he gives it up. He has no philosophy to offer us He sees and reveals the infinite poetry and pathos of human existence, he does not explain it.

Yet we can hardly doubt that *Pêcheur d'Islande* will live. The intangible force we call fashion has sway in nearly every department of life, and, in this 'turning world,' a novel must be based on what is most essential and unalterable in man's life and nature if it is to attain 'the not too long endurance we agree to call immortality.'

But *Pêcheur d'Islande* is a page torn from the great volume of human experience rather than a novel. It deals with these commonplace lives of toil which are least touched by change; and it shows us the eternal poetry which underlies them. Through realism it reveals the ideal. And, as long as men go down to the sea in ships and have their business, their monotonous daily labour on great waters; as long as the ocean wields a fascination over the children of men; as long as there are minds who delight to have this fascination extended and made sensible to them through the skill of an artist acutely susceptible to Nature's varying moods; so long will there be something which will prevent *Pêcheur d'Islande* from 'going out of fashion.'

We have alluded more than once to the Oration which, according to established custom, Pierre Loti was bound to pro-

nounce on his reception into the French Academy. We have done so because, while eulogising his predecessor,* and making a not very tactful onslaught on one of the unsuccessful candidates,† Pierre Loti was in reality laying bare the mainsprings of his own art, summing up the qualities of his own work, and defining the literary and moral canons by which his own books must be judged. And it is because *Pêcheur d'Islande* and *Mon Frère Yves* conform more closely than the rest to this self-enunciated standard that we may fairly view them as his most typical productions, and hopefully apply to them the words with which their author concluded his significant and interesting speech.

'The mysterious twentieth century will soon look back on ours to see what there was of little or of great in it ; and all our literature will pass through the sieve of years, which lets fall into the bottomless void the small things, the innumerable impersonal, common-place, hollow, pretentious, simply clever works, and retains only those of truer worth.'

May we not hope and believe that *Pêcheur d'Islande* and *Mon Frère Yves* will remain in the sieve?

Art. VIII.—THE SCOTTISH ELECTIONS OF 1895.

In January 1886 I examined in the pages of this *Review* the position of Scottish Conservatism immediately after the General Election of 1885, and ventured to assert that, though it was then overwhelmed at the polls, there were elements of encouragement for those who believed in its future capacity to save the country. 'The moral of the late elections,' I then wrote, 'is that in Scotland too, as in England, though more slowly, a moderate and enlightened Conservatism is gradually increasing its hold on the people, and preparing for its function of forming the nucleus around which will coalesce all the moderate and patriotic men who hold by constitutional progress as opposed to Jacobinical dogmas and methods.' When

* Octave Feuillet. † Zola.

these words appeared in print the pilot balloon of 'the Great Betrayal' was already in the air, and in six months they were justified by the triumph of the Unionist alliance over the desperate *coup*, and astonishing coalition by which Mr. Gladstone accepted for himself the *rôle* so scornfully disdained by Mr. Pitt, 'and marched out of the fortress of the constitution with a halter round his neck, humbly begging to be re-admitted as a volunteer in the army of the enemy.'

In 1892, though the Unionists lost seats in Scotland, they largely increased their votes. In 1885 the Conservatives polled about 156,000 votes to 289,000 recorded for the Liberals: in 1886, the figures were estimated as about 160,000 Unionist to 183,000 Gladstonian votes; and in 1892 they were about 208,000 Unionist to 254,000 Gladstonians. In April 1894 I again examined in the columns of the *Scottish Review* the position of Scottish Unionism in view of the election that seemed then impending, and in the light of past progress, of the bye-elections that had then occurred, and of the results recorded in the Registration Courts, came to the conclusion that, in spite of certain electoral conditions which made for their disadvantage, Scottish Unionists had every reason to look forward with hope to the coming contest. The omens of the year that had yet to elapse still pointed to a process of which the most significant manifestation had been Captain Hope's victory in Linlithgowshire. In the elections that followed the succession of Lord Rosebery to 'Elijah's Mantle,' though the Border Burghs showed no improvement, Berwickshire gave a considerable, and the Leith Burghs a substantial Unionist increase and attenuation of majority. Mid-Lanark followed suit. While the 'ploughing of the sands' went mechanically on, the unexpected gain of Forfarshire with an increase of nearly 1100 votes sounded a note which startled many, and shortly before the final crash came West Edinburgh raised its Unionist majority from 512 to 708, and Inverness-shire was wrested from a Land League Separatist with 550 of a majority. In three years the Unionists had won three seats, and increased their strength by over 3000 votes: the Separatists had gone back by nearly 900.

These indications, afforded by so many constituencies so different in character, of so definite a trend of opinion made speculations as to what the General Election of 1895 would bring forth in Scotland peculiarly interesting. Once more Unionists were confident that a National appeal would show an increase of Unionist voting power, and prove that their principles were more and more commending themselves to the Scottish people. Once again also they looked with combined hope and apprehension to the result in seats held, for it was impossible to predict what the fortune of war would actually decide as to the trophies of the combat. It was known that, whatever the local vetoists might do, the Scottish Radicals would 'fight like wild cats' for the retention of their old domination. For the first time they were entering the strife with the knowledge that their supremacy could be and would be effectively challenged in every district of the country. The experience of West Aberdeenshire in 1892 had taught them not to feel safe anywhere, Linlithgow had realised their worst fears, and Forfarshire had struck upon their ears like the crack of doom. It was certain that every effort would be made to retain the one and recover the others, and that corresponding exertions would be put forth in every seat likely to follow their example. The last reserves of Radicalism were to be poured into the fight, and the problem was, would they be able to turn back the advancing tide of Conservative feeling and Unionist principle.

When the struggle commenced cautious Unionists ventured to prophesy a net gain of six seats. After Edinburgh and Glasgow had polled the possibility that we might come out of the strife with a bare majority of the representation was entertained. When the late Parliament was dissolved, the Unionists held 25 seats out of 72: they have met the new one with 33, or a net balance of eight gains. A phenomenon, not unknown before, has however been conspicuously illustrated, and the ill-luck of candidates who win great triumphs at bye-elections which precipitate a victorious general election, will probably become proverbial. But the true drift of Scottish opinion can only be ascertained, and the real lessons of the election learned,

by an examination of the actual figures recorded at the polls. Dull as figures proverbially are, they are in this case significant, and I propose to compare the results of 1895 with those of 1892, first classifying the Scottish constituencies in nine divisions, framed with special regard to similarity of character and common conditions, very much as was done in 1885, and subsequently summarizing the results geographically in accordance with the district-divisions adopted in April, 1894.

I.—*The Cities.*

	Unionist Vote.		Separatist Vote.	
	1892	1895	1892	1895
Aberdeen, South, .	1768	3121	3513 (L. 991)	3985 4516
,, North, .	870		4462	(L. 608)
	2638		8976	9109
Dundee, . . .	5659	5390	8484	7602
(Double vote), . .	5066	4318	8191 (L. 354)	7592 (L. 1313
	10,725	9708	17,029	16,507
Edinburgh—West, .	3728		3216	U. unop.
South, .	4261	4802	4692	4708
East, .	2809	3050	3969	3499
Central, .	1758		3733 (L. 438)	S. unop.
	12,556	7852	16,048	8207
(East and South), .	7070	7852	8661	8207

At the bye-election in May, 1895, in West Edinburgh, the figures were—Unionist, 3783; Separatist, 3075.

Glasgow—Bridgeton, .	3351	2719	4729	3161 (L. 609)
College, .	4758	5364	5804 (L. 225)	4219
Tradeston, .	3366	3373	3197 (L. 783)	2568 (L. 316)
Camlachie, .	3455	3198	3084 (L. 1085)	2497 (L. 696)

St. Rollox, .	4891	4566	6247	4000 * (L. 405)
Blackfriars,	3065	2727	4146	3108 (L. 448)
Central, .	6121	5621	5245	3792
	29,007	27,568	34,545	25,819
Total for the Cities, . (excluding double votes).	49,860	43,931	68,043	52,050

Or, if we exclude all seats in which there was not an actual contest with a Unionist candidate in 1895—

43,504	43,931	56,194	46,924

If we discard the Labour vote from the Separatist column of 1895, there is left upon the polls in seats contested with the Unionists a balance of 43,137 votes, which is less than the 43,931 polled by them. The result therefore is, that, putting North Aberdeen aside, the cause of the Union now possesses an actual majority over the party of Separation in the great cities of Scotland, and that the one barrier which remains to be breached and beaten down is the 'dour' Radicalism of the North division of the Northern city. If against North Aberdeen be put the Irish vote, Unionism has a Scottish majority in the great Scottish cities.

What Scottish Unionists have achieved is, however, best shown by a comparison of the total votes polled in each of the great cities since the Franchise was extended in 1884—

	Conservative or Unionist vote.				Liberal or Separatist vote.			
	1895	1886	1892	1895	1885	1886	1892	1895
Aberdeen, .	2349	—	2638	3121	9519	—	8966	9109
Dundee (voters),	5149	3545	5659	5390	8261	8236	8484	7602
Edinburgh, .	4231	9763	12,556	7852	9184	13,625	16,048	8207
Glasgow, .	26,480	28,882	29,007	27,568	34,614	29,118	34,545	25,819
	38,209	42,190	49,860	43,931	61,578	50,979	68,043	52,050

* The figures in these tables were taken from the daily results as recorded in the *Scotsman*. It is understood that the official figures of the St. Rollox contest were—Begg, 4561 ; Carmichael, 4200—the result being to slightly reduce the Unionist increase and Separatist decrease in the West. The discrepancy does not, however, affect the general conclusions.

The absence of contests in West and Central Edinburgh, and North Aberdeen in 1895, to some extent accounts for the drop in the total figures of 1805, as compared with 1892. If we add the last previous poll in these two constituencies the figures for 1895 would be Unionist 49,472, and Separatist 59,316, including a Labour vote of 438 in Central Edinburgh in 1892. There was also at work in Glasgow a local cause, which fully explains the fact, that a much larger proportion of the electorate there remained unpolled in 1895 than in 1892. The election fell in the 'Fair week'—the public holiday—when every good Glasgowegian who can afford it, betakes himself and takes his family 'down the water' to some place of summer resort. This of course affected both political parties, but men who intimately knew the great western city were of opinion that it hit the Unionists harder than it did the Separatists, for a large proportion of the Unionist strength lies in the middle class and the best type of well-to-do artizans, and these are just the people who do go elsewhere for their holiday, and for whom it is most difficult to come back and break a short and much-prized time of rest and change of scene. On the other hand the Separatists had a considerable following among those who take their holiday in the city itself or on a cheap steamer arriving back in the city in the course of the day. It will be observed that while the West and Central Divisions of Edinburgh (the only two contested) gave 4231 Conservative votes in 1885, the South and East, the only two contested in 1895 gave no less than 7852 Unionists, while at the immediately preceding bye-election in the West Division the Unionist vote had been 3,783, and the majority 708.

II.—*The Towns.*

	Unionist Vote.		Separatist Vote.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
Greenock, . .	2942	3571	2887	2753
Paisley, . .	2441	3062	4262	4404
Perth, . .	1398	1763	1171 (Lab. 907)	2137
	6781	8396	9227	9294

If we compare the total vote in these three single-member burghs, the only types of the class in Scotland, at the four elections since the last extension of the franchise, the result works out thus:—

Conservative or Unionist.				Liberal or Separatist.			
1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.	1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.
6576	6516	6781	8396	9131	6838	9227	9294

Thus the Unionist vote in ten years has increased by nearly 2000: the Separatist has remained substantially the same. The gain of the seat at Perth in 1892 was of course a fortuitous and fortunate accident due to two Radicals going to the poll, and the figures of 1895 reflect no discredit but the reverse on those who have laboured to plant Conservative principles so firmly within the walls of the 'Fair City.'

III.—*District Burghs.*

	Unionist Vote.		Separatist Vote.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
Ayr, . .	2753	3057	2760	2722
Dumfries, .	1166	1185	1698	1785
Elgin, .	1127	1161	1668	1853
Falkirk, .	3177	4075	3816	3822
Hawick, .	2639	2531	3004	3033
Inverness, .	1562	1846	1615	1596
Kilmarnock,	4335	5432	5110	5051
Kirkcaldy,	939	1122	2741	3078
Leith, .	4095	4494	5738	5819
Montrose,	2090	2462	3941	3594
St. Andrews,	1066	1185	954	989
Stirling, .	1695	1656	2791	2783
Wick, .	952	913	825	889
	27,596	31,119	36,661	37,014

Thus in this class of constituency the Unionist strength has increased by 3523, while the Separatists have only mustered a reinforcement of 353. The election of 1885 affords no *data* for comparison, for the Elgin, Hawick, Inverness, St. Andrews, Stirling, and Wick groups were then uncontested by the Conservatives, the contests in the St. Andrews, Inverness, and Wick

groups being between two Liberals, while in the other three the members were unopposed. In 1886, when all the groups except the Elgin District were contested, the Unionist vote was 23,899, and the Separatist 27,596. Of these 13 constituencies the Unionists now actually hold six, a result quite unlooked for some years back.

IV.—*The Counties (Highland).*

	1892. Unionist Vote.	1895. Unionist Vote.	1892. Separatist Vote.	1895. Separatist Vote.
Argyllshire, . .	3586	3970	3666	3835
Inverness, . .	2706	2991	3035	2891
Ross and Cromarty,	2413	2409	3171	3272
Sutherland, . .	607	590	1453	1085
Caithness, . .	693	528	2133	1828
Orkney and Shetland,	1674	1580	2623	2361
	11,679	12,068	16,081	15,272

These Highland constituencies stand by themselves, and their peculiar circumstances and past record must be taken into view before drawing any inference from present figures. In 1885 only Inverness-shire and Orkney and Shetland were contested by Conservatives, and Argyllshire by an Independent Liberal of Conservative tendencies. The total votes polled in these three constituencies were 6823, as against 12,814. In 1886, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh, having ranged himself as a Liberal-Unionist of Land League predilections, the total Unionist vote in the five other seats which were all contested was 7404, as against a Separatist strength of 13,157. We now stand with Argyllshire won in 1886, and lost in 1892, recovered, and Inverness-shire lost in 1892, won by a handsome majority at a bye-election, and retained by a substantial one, in spite of the difficulties that attend the retention of a seat won by special efforts, at an immediately succeeding General Election. In spite of a serious falling off in the number of votes recorded in Sutherland and Caithness, the Unionist strength in the Highlands is growing, while in spite of the spur given by the recent loss of Inverness-shire that of the Separatists shows a decline.

V.—*The Counties (North-East.)*

	Separatist Vote.		Unionist Vote.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
Moray and Nairn,	1978	2147	2523	2019
Banffshire, .	(1424)	2467	2293	2977
Aberdeenshire East,	3492	3308	5116	4723
Do. West,	3640	3967	3720	4187
Kincardineshire,	(1376)	2040	2444	2603
Forfarshire, .	4077	4718	4943	5159
	15,987	18,647	21,039	21,668

These constituencies are generally Lowland in character, though, with the exception of East Aberdeenshire, they contain Highland districts, the population of which is comparatively small. With the exception of West Aberdeenshire all possess a fringe of a fishing population quite distinct in character from the inhabitants of the landward districts, which is most numerous in Banffshire and East Aberdeenshire. Otherwise they embrace the most purely agricultural region in Scotland. The most satisfactory feature is the return of Moray and Nairn to its old allegiance of more than ten years ago; and the most unsatisfactory the slight drop in the Unionist vote in East Aberdeenshire as compared with 1892, even though it is coincident with a larger drop on the Separatist side. East Aberdeenshire affords the only case in these counties in which the Unionist vote has decreased since 1892, and the only case of a smaller poll. Roughly speaking, the bye-election of December 1892 and the late contest tell the same tale, and point to the maintenance of *status quo*, and less political interest on both sides. This was natural at a bye-election which came so soon after the general election of 1892, but, being unique now, is a curious phenomenon. It would seem that it illustrates the fact, that after all, in spite of prejudice, a good local public-spirited Conservative landowner makes a more effective candidate for a county-seat, even in the most Radical region, than a Liberal-Unionist from a distance whose views on many points are indistinguishable from his opponent's, and who sometimes out-Herod's Herod. The

success of Sir Arthur Grant in 1892 in reducing to 80 a majority counted at 3,768 in 1885 and 2,197 in 1886, gave good hope, though not confident expectation, that West Aberdeenshire would be won for the Union. He did well in increasing his vote by over 300, but the warning of 1892 had been laid to heart by the Separatists who had revived their organisation, formerly very slack, and left no stone unturned to whip up their last man. Yet though the seat was not won, the figures of West Aberdeenshire yield no ground of discouragement, and much incentive to further effort. Banffshire registered another step in the normal increase of Unionist feeling and reduction of Radical preponderance, which began at the bye-election of 1893, and Kincardineshire showed a most satisfactory initiation of the same process. Forfarshire strangely reversed its emphatic decision of a few months before, and converted Mr. Ramsay's majority of 286 into a minority of 441, but his vote remained a substantial advance upon his predecessor's in 1892, and the fact that the seat has once been won is full of future encouragement. Unsatisfactory as the results are in seats held, there is much reason for satisfaction in the solid fact that while since 1892 the Separatist vote has only increased by 629, that of the Unionists has risen by 2,660. There is strong reason for the belief that of the agricultural population proper a majority is now Unionist, and that if the balance were in their hands, Aberdeenshire and Banffshire at all events would have recorded different results.

VI.—*The Counties (Central and East).*

	Unionist Vote.		Separatist Vote.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
Perthshire, East, .	2484	2535	3533	3410
,, West, .	3422	3379	3053	3087
Stirlingshire, . .	4550	5916	5296 (L. 663)	5489
Clackmannan and Kinross.	1927	2588	3541	3133
Fife, West, . .	1633	2965	5210	4719
,, East, . .	3449	3616	3743	4332
	17,465	20,999	25,039	24,170

In this central region, containing a mixed population of agriculturists, villagers, miners, and millworkers, the results have been fairly satisfactory. The largest county of all, with the biggest working-class vote has been handsomely won, and the Unionist seat in West Perthshire retained. The ex-Lord-Advocate's majority in Clackmannan and Kinross has been reduced from 1614 to 545, and Mr. Birrell's in West Fife from 3577 to 1754. Mr. Gilmour has increased his vote in East Fife, but that increase has proved insufficient in face of the strenuous efforts put forth on behalf of an able candidate who since 1892, had received high Government office, and been more successful than most of his colleagues in increasing his personal reputation, while that of his party was running to ruin. An increase of 3534 in the Unionist vote coincident with a decrease of 869 in the Separatist affords a capital basis for future work.

VII.—*The Counties (the Lothians and South-East).*

	Unionist Vote.		Separatist Vote.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
West Lothian, .	2709	3153	2870	3760
Mid ,, .	5155	5631	5845	6090
East ,, .	2255	2194	2551	2774
Peebles and Selkirk	1603	1563	1367	1509
Roxburgh, . .	2514	2929	2672	2368
Berwick, . .	1956	2166	2704	2673
	16,192	17,636	18,009	19,174

In these South-Eastern counties it must be confessed that the result in seats has been a little disappointing. The representation ought at least to have been divided, and would have been so had the seat in East Lothian won at the bye-election been successfully defended. While it fell before an assiduous and impetuous attack, one of the most healthy and well-timed triumphs of the struggle was won by the Earl of Dalkeith in Roxburghshire, and the vote of 1895 in East Lothian still shows an increase of nearly 450 over that of 1892. The remarkable stride in Unionist progress indicated by the Mid-Lothian figures of 1892, had perhaps caused unduly

sanguine expectations to be entertained as to the premier county of Scotland, but there is no ground of discouragement in the figures which it has recorded. The maintenance of the substantial figures achieved by a candidate of exceptional personal fascination, by another who had not been so long in the field would have been something in itself, but the increase of these figures by nearly 500 is much more, while more significant still is the fact that in spite of the warning they had received, and the exertion of every effort on the part of the Separatists, they were only able to bring out about 150 more than had gone to the poll in 1892. In the South-East the slow but steady growth of Unionist principles is seen to continue, for while on the one side the increase is 3,444, on the other it is only 165. The total Separatist majority in these counties is only 1,538; ten years ago it was 13,069.

VIII.—*The Counties (the West).*

	Unionist Vote.		Separatist Vote.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
Lanarkshire (Govan) .	3829	4029	4829	4290 (L. 430)
,, (Partick) .	5005	5551	4278	4344
,, North-West,	4770	5147	4689	5244
,, North-East,	5184	5751	5281	6288
,, Mid, .	3489	4376	4611	4447
,, South, .	4032	4053	3664	3823
Dumbartonshire, . .	4956	5375	5249	5342
Renfrew, East, . .	4484	U. unop.	3397	...
,, West, . .	3773	3909	3322	3306
Bute, . , . .	1466	U. unop.	1013	...
Ayrshire, North, . .	5346	5612	4898	4902
,, South, . .	6338	6875	6535	6325
	52,672	50,678	51,766	48,741

If we add to these figures the polls at the preceding elections in Bute and East Renfrew the result is:—

52,672	56,628	51,766	53,151

The fact that two popular constituencies, one of them a large one, were left uncontested, is itself significant. While

two seats have been lost, two have been gained, and in every case the Unionist vote shews an increase, while in four the Separatist vote has decreased. Most interesting and instructive of all is the large increase of over 700 votes in Mid-Lanark, an essentially working-class constituency of miners and steelworkers, where in an even battle between Unionist and Separatist, Mr. Mackenzie's clear presentment of Unionist principles and of a policy of honesty in social reform was rewarded by the reduction of a majority of over 1100 in 1892 to the exiguous figure of 71. The result in these counties, shews the fortune of war when parties are more or less evenly balanced as to the tenure of seats, but it also exhibits a general and substantial growth of Unionist voting power. The query which it irresistibly suggests is, 'Where would the Radicals be without the Irish Home Rule vote?'

IX.—*The Counties (South-West).*

	Unionist Vote.		Separatist Vote.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
Dumfries, .	4123	3952	3849	3965
Kirkcudbright,	2485	2664	2454	2494
Wigtown, .	2895	U. unop.	1670	...
	9503	6616	7973	6459

If we add to the registered figures of 1895, the vote at the last preceding election as representing the unchallenged verdict of Wigtonshire, the Unionist poll in 1895 would be 9,511, and the Separatist 8,129. The most unfortunate incident of the election of 1895 was the loss of the seat in Dumfriesshire. It was due simply and solely to the apathy of a few Unionist electors who did not take the trouble to come and vote, choosing to assume that the seat was quite safe. Indeed it is said that in an Edinburgh club within a short time of the result being known, the names of 'a baker's dozen' sufficient to have saved the seat were ticked off, who should have been there to vote and were not. It might have been thought that the result of West Aberdeenshire in 1892, would have been sufficient for lazy Unionists. It proved that no contest was so

hopeless as to absolve a loyal man from doing his duty, and at the same time it carried with it a warning to the over-confident. Strange that the moral should have to be rewritten, and the complement of West Aberdeenshire in 1892 afforded by Dumfriesshire in 1895. It is a melancholy thing that the pure laziness, the preference of a day or two's fishing, or the starting a day earlier for a yachting cruise, on the part of two or three armchair politicians can nullify the effects of laborious attention to duty by a public-spirited representative, and destroy the results of hard work done, and time ungrudgingly sacrificed by patriotic men, not only in the constituency given away, but in others affected by its fall. The gentlemen who did not take the trouble of coming to vote in Dumfriesshire have the satisfaction of knowing that they administered to the Unionist cause the one sharp check it received during the election, and destroyed a great opportunity of influencing for good at the most critical moment the political faith of Scotland. On the morning of 19th July it was quite on the cards that the Unionists would come out of the contest with 37 seats in the bag. The Scottish burghs had done well: the counties were just beginning to poll. 37 seats would have been a clear majority of the Scottish representation, and all the pernicious nonsense that is talked about Scotland being overridden by England would have been knocked on the head once for all. The loss of Dumfriesshire to the Union accentuated the success of the Separatists in retaining their seats in Mid-Lothian and East Fife, and it made an eddy not only in the flowing tide of the General Election, but in the slower and more steady swelling of Unionist strength in Scotland. It remains an emphatic warning that in politics clap-trap is not to be despised, and that confidence as to a result is only justified when every elector has gone to the poll.

In the arrangement already given the constituencies have been allocated, according to similarity of character and community of interest: it is also instructive to consider the general results tested according to geographical areas alone, and without going into undue detail, to make a comparison between the figures of the ten years that have elapsed since

the Franchise was last extended. For this purpose it is impossible to do better than take the Divisions into which Scotland is divided for supervision by local committees under the general superintendence of the Central Council of the National Conservative Union. For each of these districts the total votes polled at the General Elections of 1885, 1886, 1892, and 1895, stand as follows :—

I.—*Eastern District.*

Containing Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Peebles and Selkirk, the Lothians, West Fife, Clackmannan and Kinross, Edinburgh city, the Border, the Leith, and Kirkcaldy, and the Stirling Burghs.

	1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.
Conservative or Unionist,	20,199	28,154	41,670	40,844
Separatist, . . .	45,896	39,520	56,643	49,946

In 1895 the West Division of Edinburgh where the last Unionist majority was 708, and the Central where the last Separatist majority was 1,975, exclusive of a Labour vote of 438, were uncontested, and in 1885 only the West and Central were fought by Conservatives. The figures of the ensuing bye-election in the South Division have been taken.

II.—*Western District.*

Comprising Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Ayrshire, Bute, Argyll, Dumbartonshire and Stirlingshire; Glasgow, Greenock and Paisley, and the Ayr, Kilmarnock, and Falkirk Burghs.

	1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.
Conservative or Unionist,	91,981	92,021	105,427	107,329
Separatist, . . .	110,913	89,616	112,194	99,732

In 1895 South and East Renfrew where the previous Unionist majorities were respectively 453 and 1087 were uncontested. The Labour vote has not been included in this table, but its addition, to which they are not entitled, would only raise the Separatist strength to 102,636.

III.—*Tay District.*

Containing East Fife, Perthshire, Forfarshire, Dundee, Perth, the Montrose and the St. Andrews Burghs.

	1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.
Conservative or Unionist,	17,350	19,677	23,645	25,048
Separatist, . . .	35,889	26,010	29,822	30,310

The double vote in Dundee has been excluded.

IV.—*North-Eastern District.*

Containing Kincardineshire, Aberdeenshire, Banffshire, Aberdeen, and the Elgin Burghs.

	1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.
Conservative or Unionist,	10,791	...	12,258	16,064
Separatist, . . .	28,736	...	20,772	24,844

In 1886 Aberdeen City and the Elgin Burghs were uncontested.

V.—*Northern District.*

Including Moray and Nairn, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, the Inverness and the Wick Burghs.

	1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.
Conservative or Unionist,	...	6,541	10,913	11,424
Separatist, . . .	...	12,006	14,766	13,580

In 1885, there was only a limited number of contests between Conservatives and Liberals, and the situation was complicated by the appearance of the Land League candidates who were generally successful against the ordinary Liberal.

VI.—*South-Western District.*

Comprehending Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, Wigtonshire, and the Dumfries Burghs.

	1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.
Conservative or Unionist,	10,159	10,715	10,669	7801
Separatist, . . .	11,520	8,924	9,071	8244

Wigtonshire, where the Unionist majority at the previous contest was 1225, was uncontested in 1895.

Orkney and Shetland is a constituency which stands by itself, but with its figures added the total votes cast in Scotland at the Election of 1895, excluding the second votes in Dundee, would appear to be—

Unionist.	Separatist.	Labour.
210,090	229,017	4825

But Wigtonshire, East Renfrew, and Bute, were uncontested by the Separatists. Their previous figures would raise the Unionist vote to 218,935, and the Separatist to 235,097. The general result therefore is that the Unionists have done fairly well in the gain of seats, and that while in some constituencies there has been a little falling back, there has been a general increase in their voting power in every district of the country. This is the more remarkable, because in reviewing the course of the Scottish elections, and comparing them with previous contests, we see no manifestation of any great wave of opinion, such as has been experienced south of the Border. Radical seats have not fallen like the walls of Jericho or the battlements of Derby, and there is little trace of the later Scottish elections being influenced by the contagion of the triumph in the South. The rush of a great wave is not the metaphor which can be used to describe Unionist increase in Scotland; it is rather to be compared to the sure and steady advance of the tide. There is nothing phenomenal in the results disclosed, but there is much that is satisfactory, because they shew the continuance of a process of conviction, which is all the more certain because it is not too rapid. Scotsmen may in many cases be Radical in opinion, but they are all Conservative in nature. Only those who know them best can realize what a strength of sentiment, of prejudice, and even of self-conceit had to be surmounted before the real convictions of many cut themselves free from bonds forged by the glamour of a great figure, and an inherited horror of a traduced party name. That the emancipation from the traditions of a dead past, which were partly founded on facts which have ceased to exist and were largely the products of imagination, has been carried so far, is a certain guarantee of a still happier future.

The measure of success that has been attained has been gained in spite of the utmost efforts of the forces arrayed on the opposite side. It has been gained in the face of cunningly devised, though despicable, appeals to the Scot's *amour propre*, and his jealousy of 'the auld enemies of England,' which waxed shriller as the Unionist success in the South became more and more assured. It has been gained in spite of unscrupulous bribes addressed to the more sordid instincts of the county voters, and of the usual calumnies against classes and candidates, on which the setters of class against class rely. It would undoubtedly have been more complete had not a dead set been made at members of the Established Church, with former sympathies for the Radical party, with the insidious suggestion that now that England was giving a Unionist majority, the Church could be in no danger for some time to come, and they might safely vote for a declared Disestablisher. This strange argument has been used concurrently with the conversion of Church Courts of the Free Church into Separatist caucuses for the purpose of forwarding together the interests of Disestablishment and of the party which has suffered a crushing defeat.

The success has indeed been more substantial than is apparent. The Separatists have polled their last man, and have pressed every piece of their ordnance into the battle. The day before the late Government fell they succeeded in capturing for electioneering purposes the ecclesiastical machinery of the Free Church of Scotland, for on 20th June there was issued, with a more or less wily selection of recipients, a circular on behalf of the Church and State Committee of the Free Church, signed by Dr. Rainy, which urged the ministers of that Church in the strongest terms to take action in their Church Courts, to attend political meetings, to canvass their office-bearers and members, and to use other efforts to force on Disestablishment. Yet, in spite of this degradation of the ecclesiastical organisation of the Church of Dr. Chalmers, which still carries the principle of Church Establishment on its authorized standards, and of all the other forces, more or less creditably invoked, of the Separatists, the main result of the

election has been, for the first time, effectually to destroy their pretension to speak the mind of the Scottish people, and to place the Unionists in the position of being the true national party of Scotland. This would have been obvious to everybody had 36 or 37 seats been carried. The Unionists hold 33, and the Separatists 39. But of these 39, two divisions of Glasgow, and four divisions of Lanark, can at once be set down as held simply and solely by favour of the Irish vote. The same is probably true of the three Lothians and the East Division of Edinburgh, and a careful investigation would possibly show other seats in the same position. The transfer of the constituencies within the bounds of Lanark alone would just reverse the Parliamentary position, and if every seat held by a majority less than the Irish Catholic vote were handed over, and if that vote were substracted from the Separatist polls, the Scottish Separatists would be seen shaven in the House of Commons and shorn in the country. If, as appears to be the case, the burden of their song for the next *lustrum* is to be the woes of an oppressed Scotland tyrannized over by England, they and the public of the United Kingdom must be told plainly that we can recognize no 'Complaynt of Scotland' presented in the mellifluous tones of the Irish brogue.

The change which has been effected within ten years to so great an extent in the political complexion of Scotland is due partly to conviction on the question of Home Rule, and partly to affection for the National Church, forced into action by the Disestablishment crusade, but very largely also to better political organisation, and to increased knowledge of Conservative principles among the electors. It has been substantially contributed to by six years' experience of practical Unionis-legislation, by three years' disappointment with the barrenness of Radical promises, and by general disgust with an impotent and irritating management of Scottish affairs. The old notion expressed by the English elector that 'the Liberals are the party what gives,'—always at the expense of other people—is being gradually superseded by a conviction that the Radicals promise much and perform little, while the

Unionists promise less and perform more. If the process so satisfactorily begun in Scotland is to be continued the Unionists must not lose their opportunity of showing that this new diagnosis is correct as far as they are concerned. Scotsmen are now impatient at the neglect of their interests in comparison with those of Ireland, and they look with some expectations to a Government whose Scottish Secretary is a well-known Scotsman with a practical knowledge of the conditions of Scottish life.

An examination of the electoral results conducted with a knowledge of the social features of different parts of Scotland indicates that in the North-East the Unionists have yet to convince the fishermen, and to carry further the impression already made on the small farmers and ploughmen. In Fife and the Lothians the miners have still to be reached. While the nation has negatived a revolutionary policy, the opportunity is favourable for a reasonable settlement, in a spirit at once conservative and in the best sense liberal, of some troublesome questions, and for judicious measures directed to improve the condition of certain classes of the community without infringing the rights of others. The characteristic of Gladstonian proposals has been their infliction of the maximum of mischief on the classes supposed to be anti-Gladstonian, with the minimum of advantage in settling controversies and grappling with real social problems: it remains for the Unionists, while discarding the doctrine that the essence of benefit to one class consists in the spoliation or mulcting of another, to prove that much can be done to raise the *status* of all, and especially of the larger and the poorer. The practical inconveniences that have given some bottom to the cry of Home Rule all round ought to be removed by the institution of a tribunal to make the enquiries necessary in Private Bill legislation. The Church has hitherto been successfully, though not altogether triumphantly, defended. It may be of vital importance to the future of National Religion in Scotland, that by some simple legislative declaration, such as has been already submitted to Parliament, and substantially assented to by herself, the constitutional obstacles which at present divide her

from those holding the same principles in regard to the righteousness and advantages of a National Establishment should be removed. This has recently become all the more necessary and desirable in view of the action taken towards union amongst themselves by her irreconcilable enemies, of the new ecclesiastical conditions of the Highlands, and of the sense of discomfort and disgust felt by many Free Churchmen at the official exhortation addressed to them to surrender their national claim and convert themselves into pure and simple political dissenters. Most important of all perhaps is a sound and cautious but courageous handling of questions connected with the ownership and occupancy of land. Scottish agriculture has its own case for a revision of local taxation. While sound principle forbids the transfer of one man's property to another operated by an extension of the Crofter's Act to Lowland districts and other Gladstonian nostrums, the same principle entitles an outgoing tenant to complete money compensation for improvements effected by him, and it may well be considered whether it would not be advisable that such compensation should always be assessed and paid at the termination of a lease irrespective of whether the tenant is going to take the farm again or not. This is perhaps hardly a matter for legislation, but it would get rid of the idea of a man's rent being raised on his own improvements, for these would have been paid for by the landlord in hard cash. The expense of assessing compensation might also be reduced. To meet the case of the better-class crofter and of the small tenant of the north who has no complaint against his hereditary landlord but fears the sale of the estate and the heavier hand of a new purchaser, the honest and most effective remedy is to be found in an application to Scotland of the legislation outlined in the Ashbourne Acts. I ventured to suggest this in the *National Review* in 1889, and the proposal has recently found a place in the programme of many Unionist candidates. The Unionist Government in 1892 passed measures for encouraging small holdings and allotments, but the limited extent to which these have been taken advantage of seems to invite further consideration whether

assistance in borrowing money on favourable terms might not be given by Government to landowners desirous of equipping small holdings, and of improving and extending the house accommodation for labourers on their estates, but hampered by the want of ready money and the additional heavy burdens recently imposed on them. It is also desirable that the conditions in, and under, which land may be compulsorily acquired for pressing public purposes such as the extension of a rising town, which finds itself 'cribbed, cabined, and confined,' should be carefully laid down with due regard to the public interest and the private right, and it is worthy of consideration whether the solution of this question may not be facilitated by the institution of the proposed Private Bill Commission, to one member of which in the ordinary case, and to the whole tribunal in special cases, the final appeal might be made. These are but illustrations of questions connected with land rights, which can be dealt with in a statesmanlike spirit, without infringing, as nearly every Gladstonian proposal did, the principle of private property, and may be settled without injury to the owner, and with benefit to those in whose special interests the machinery is demanded. It is in such a spirit that they must be approached if solution of difficulty is truly the object aimed at, and the Unionists are much better fitted and more likely to find a reasonable settlement than their opponents. The real social difficulties of the Highlands, which were simply mocked by Sir George Trevelyan's Crofters Bill with all its provocations to controversy outside the Highland line, demand special consideration, and Scotland no less than England will benefit by a bold handling of the questions connected with accidents in industrial employment, and will rejoice no less if the party to whose legislation the developments of thrift and industry secured by the Friendly Societies' and similar Acts are due, and which has lightened the burdens of the ploughman and the artizan in the upbringing of his family when their education pressed hard upon him, can do something to secure a comfortable and respectable old age for the honest and industrious worker.

A Scottish Conservative.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken (No. 4, 1895.)—Professor Ley of Kreuznach furnishes here an elaborate and painstaking study on the metre of the book of Job, 'Die metrische Beschaffenheit des Buches Hiob.' Separating the prose parts and superscriptions, or the headings of certain sections, there remains 995 verses in the book. There are 65 three line verses, 22 of which are parallelisms, while 30 or 31 occur at the conclusions of divisions. But Professor Ley enters into a minute analysis of the whole poem in connection with the accents and tones for canticulation and interpretation. It perhaps should be mentioned that the editors preface the study by a note, indicating that they are not quite satisfied with all the writer's positions, but commending his paper to the attention of the readers of the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*.—Dr. Paul Kleinert, of Berlin, follows with an almost exhaustive paper on the 'Idee des Lebens im Alten Testament.' A very short sketch of the position taken up as to the import of the question of 'Life' in modern religious and philosophic movements, and in ancient Buddhism, leads up to a detailed exposition of the high value attached to life in the Religion of Israel as witnessed to in the Old Testament Scriptures. — Professor A. H. Francke's posthumous paper on 'Die Stellung des Apostels Paulus zu seinem Volke,' is continued in this number. In this section Paul's larger views as to the position and privileges of Israel in comparison with those entertained by the Jewish people as a whole, are demonstrated from his Epistles, and specially from that to the Romans. Paul was, and remained, proud of his Jewish birth, and was not in the least degree inclined to disparage Israel's unique relation to God, or deny the exceptional and manifold favours shewn to it in the past. But he saw its exceptional position and privileges in the light chiefly of a large and heavy responsibility laid on Israel for behoof of all races, and he fearlessly charged his people with having overlooked and neglected that responsibility, and the duties involved in it. His insistance on that neglect aroused no little animosity against him on the part of his brethren according to the flesh, and his larger views on that subject led to the persistent persecution of him which so embittered his life. But though he felt impelled by the opposition of his brethren to himself and

to his teaching to devote his ministry chiefly to the Gentiles, he none the less loved his own people and longed and prayed for their ultimate inclusion in the Christian brotherhood and their participation in all the benefits accruing to believers in Christ Jesus.—In a short article 'Zur Vergleichung der Lehre des Paulus mit der Jesu,' Dr. Paul Gloag reviews Professor Hans H. Wendt's, 'Die Lehre des Paulus verglichen mit der Lehre Jesu,' which appeared at the beginning of last year in the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.* Herr Pfarrer Herlinger reviews the second volume of Rocholl's 'Die Philosophie der Geschichte.'

RUSSIA.

Voprosi Philosophii i Psychologii (Questions, Philosophical and Psychological) opens its twenty-seventh number with a paper by the Editor, Professor Grot, on 'Pure or Disinterested Morality,' being the substance of a speech delivered in the public yearly meeting of the Moscow Psychological Society in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of its foundation. The author begins by stating that this morality is found *within* the man in his own proper psychical nature and not anywhere outside of that nature, and that it constitutes one of the foremost acquisitions of the Philosophy of the two preceding ages. Searching for this pure moral action in aid of Religion, Science, or Philosophy, it will be found rooted in man's inner nature. The external conditions of faith, hope, and love, may be sought for outwardly, but the real foundation is only to be found within. All religion, philosophy, and positive science, presuppose the existence of pure moral conduct, love to God and one's neighbour, faith in justice and perfection, hope of eternal blessedness, and the avoidance of eternal pain, sympathy and pity, tendency to happiness, and the idea of moral duty; finally, the feeling of self-preservation and inborn instinct, the idea of advantage and general blessedness—all these facts of the spiritual life of the subject are conditions and properties of the internal Ego. The object of his discourse, Professor Grot tells us, will be to make an attempt to examine anew the question, on which side of human nature it is necessary to seek the secret of a truly pure moral life. He promises that the inquiry will be purely theoretical, such as a philosophical inquiry ought to be, a question of self-knowledge and self-comparison; and he proposes to deal with the problem anew on the ground of psychology, and to discuss the question, what are the basis of moral conduct, in comparing and solving the doubts which arise in examining the contemporary utilita-

rian and eudaimonean morals, the moral of personal advantage and fortune.—This paper is succeeded by another 'On Life as a Moral Conflict,' by M. P. A. Kalenoff. The author begins by remarking that the external conflict of man as a thinking being with the external world is rooted in an inner conflict of opposing tendencies. For the explanation of the facts of this conflict, they may be considered under the following three categories:—1. Enjoyment of the immediate satisfaction of certain wants; 2 Satisfaction, the contentment consequent on the attaining of more remote and enduring pleasures. These two categories of good or satisfaction differ from one another, not in essence only but in quantity, and the latter arises out of the former as its fundamental element. Satisfaction of the third kind, in distinction from the other two, is subjectively limited, but consciously felt to be unconditioned. This last believed to be unconditioned blessing is moral duty. There are therefore categories of good or blessing acting as motive powers to man's will, enjoyment, satisfaction and moral duty. Corresponding to these three categories the inner conflict presents two degrees. The first degree is that hesitation between mere animal enjoyment and the more lasting satisfactions demanding attention rather than immediate enjoyment. Besides the choice between immediate enjoyment and more lasting satisfaction, there appears also in life the necessity of choice between personal good and unconditional good—good which comes from the demands of moral duty! Issuing from this struggle, the mind presents a second or higher degree of inner conflict. The chief aim of this article the author explains is included in clearing up the idea of the Kosmos, as a motive of moral conflict, but having explained this idea as motive and problem of scientific activity, he proceeds to say: 'I shall speak shortly also concerning the means of solving the scientific problem; for this throws some light on the chiefly interesting part of my question;' and then goes on to discuss the topic.—To this succeed two papers of an obituary nature, both having for their subject the scientific activity of A. M. Ivantzoff-Platonoff, the Professor of Church History in the University of Moscow. The first paper is an estimate of his scientific activity, by Prince Serge N. Trubetskoi. From this we learn that Ivantzoff was a contributor to the labours of Aksakoff, on the journals *Day* and *Rusi*, to which he contributed quite a remarkable series of articles. He edited also a number of the writings of Chomakoff, which appeared in a religious journal, and concerning which he took clear and independently critical views. He opposed Chomakoff's views about the religious position of the Western

nations. Chomakoff held that the Church was only to be found in Pan Slavist circles. He allowed that they were in a certain sense Christian, although the true Church was not to be found either in Catholicism or Protestantism. But he went further and denied Orthodoxy even to the Oriental Churches, and denied also the validity of the Sacraments as instruments of the grace of God, a view which M. Ivanoff-Platonoff rejected decidedly as too cruel and severe to be true, and, what is more, contrary to the views of the Orthodox Church, in her practical dealing in every case with the churches in question. The article goes very fully into the scientific activity of this gentleman both as priest and professor, showing him as one of the most cultivated and devout members of the Orthodox Greco-Russian Church; he was especially distinguished for his liberal views, as to the place and power of science as an instrument of instruction.—Passing on to the second paper on this popular and learned member of the Orthodox Church, we find that it treats of his relation to Historical Science. The name attached to his paper is that of M. Korelin. He sets out by calling attention to the liberality of M. Ivantzoff-Platonoff in regard to science. He holds, indeed, that as a scientific thinker he was especially distinguished by two traits—first, by his deep and broad religiousness, and secondly, by his high regard to science and high estimate of the value of scientific truth. The first trait was indicated by his deep and abiding sense not only of the value of the subjective feeling of love of truth, or love of the truth as an abiding feeling, but the satisfaction of the objective feeling of his relation to God, which he once expressed in the saying, 'The highest moral is the business of conscience, the service of the living God.' M. Korelin's last word over this Professor of Church History and Priest of the Greco-Russian Church deserves to be recorded: 'I do not wish to say,' he concludes, 'that Ivantzoff-Platonoff had not to struggle against the routine and the self-sufficient readiness of our native science. On the contrary, the whole of his journalistic activity exhibits him as an honourable and daring combatant against routine and prejudice, and those wishing to convince themselves sufficiently may read through his "Explanations on the question as to Orthodoxy in the present time," in the *Pravoslavnie Obozrenie* of 1861, or his article on "A View of the Past, and Hope for the Future," in the same journal for 1870. Some little superfluity of Conservatism does manifest itself in his criticisms. Finally, on comparison not with the majority of Russian Church historians, but with the representatives of West European science, and that in all their works, it must be admitted that he stands on an equality before the

demands of contemporary science.' Thus the Berlin Professor, Harnack, one of the greatest lights of the science of Church History in the West, in a very full review of the work of Ivantzoff-Platonoff on *Heresies*, regarded the book as a very substantial contribution to science, and admitted its author to have a sure glance, deep love of truth, and unwonted knowledge.—The last article in the general division of the journal is a rejoinder to Professor Vvedensky's articles on 'Kant, Actually and in Imagination,' by M. Karinsky, being the resumption of a former controversy, which is nevertheless not brought to a conclusion. It resolves itself very much into a question on the part of these two writers as to which of them has best understood Kant and his philosophy, and being so, does not readily admit of being put into a summary.—Coming to the special articles of the number, we have a paper by M. N. Marin on 'The Influence of Feeling on the course of Time,' or it might be called the effect of subjective feeling, etc., on our apprehension of time; the results the author sums up into six brief statements.—This is succeeded by M. V. P. Butzke in an 'Analysis of the Fundamental Conditions in regard to the Association of Ideas.'—This is followed by an obituary notice of M. Ivan G. Shad by M. F. A. Zelenogorskie. Shad was Professor of Philosophy in the University of Charkoff from 1805 to 1817, and was also the author of several logical and metaphysical works. In keeping with this tendency to enthusiasm which seems to distinguish the Slavic mind, these years were marked in the history of the University by a great predilection for the philosophy of Schelling, which infected not only the philosophical but also the medical faculty. Besides his love of the philosophy of Schelling, he was also known for his criticism of Kant, whose philosophy he very naturally viewed as a propaideutic to Schelling! The article is to be continued.—This is succeeded by an article, shorter than usual, on the Ukraine philosopher, M. G. C. Skovoroda, considered as a theologian.—This is followed by a critique of Gustav Teichmüller's 'Theory of Art.'—The Twenty-Eighth number of the *Voprosi*, or Questions, etc., takes up (1) a critique of the 'Genesis and Development of Music' by M. V. Wagner. He sets out by an analysis of Spencer, Darwin, and Weismann, as to the origin of the musical faculty, which he gives in outline—Spencer's as derived from the faculty of speech, Darwin's as rooted in the sexual relations, while Weismann's takes a more general and metaphysical view. The author takes up as connected with music and its development the hearing apparatus, which he treats from the physiological point of view. This is followed by the treatment of the

origin and development of the vocal apparatus. In the third part this is succeeded by an account of the origin and development of the musical art. The author, under this head, after comparing the views of Darwin, Spencer, and Weismann, comes to the conclusion that Spencer's theory is nearer the truth than those of the other two. In the conclusion our author strives to deal with certain questions as to the origin of music.—The succeeding article is by Prof. Kozloff, and gives an analysis of Count Leo Tolstoï's new treatise on the *Farmer and the Labourer*, in which he points out that Count Tolstoi has forsaken the place of the artist for that of the preacher, wherein his power is less visible. The article goes into details to prove that the new departure of Count Tolstoi is less successful than those which are of purely artistic and less mixed character.—Hereupon succeeds by the Russian thinker, Vladimir Solovieff, an article on 'Benefactors,' in which he again takes up those questions as to the philosophy of morals, which we have previously had occasion to notice. Here also he reviews those original forms of thought and feeling which he holds to be the primitive elements of morality. In particular he takes up *shame*, *sympathy*, and *religious feeling*, and observes that they may be contemplated from three sides—as benefactors, as rules of action, and thirdly as conditions of known good.—Various interesting studies appear in the special part of the journal, as 'The Contemporaneous Condition of Experimental Psychology, its Methods and Problems,' a study which seems to be flourishing, seeing that new laboratories have been opened to the number of 39, even in the smaller lands of the world, as Bulgaria and Roumania and remote Japan, six periodical journals, and all experimental or of a practical character.—Hereupon we have 'Psychology in History,' by M. P. Ardshoff; and finally, reviews of books and bibliography close, as usual, the number.

Rooskahyah Mysl.—*Russian Opinion*—(June).—In the present number the lengthy romance entitled 'Bread,' by D. N. Mamin Sibiryak, and the romance of the time of Nero with the Old Slavonic title 'Kamo griadeshi? (Quo vadis?) translated from the Polish of Henry Senkevich, are each continued.—The romance entitled 'Their Souls,' translated from the French of the Countess de-Martel (known as Gyp), and the unclassical romance 'Goddess Diana,' by P. A. Sergienka, are each concluded, the former contrary to the expectation as expressed in our last review.—'Poetry' is represented by one short piece of 40 lines only by L. M. Medveydeff.—A first instalment of Mistress (spelt in full pretty much as English writers would eke out

the Russian contraction Ga. by Gospozha) Ward's romance 'Marcella,' comprising four chapters, is given, translated from the English by A. S. M. These seven items, creatures of the imagination, occupy 200 pages of the present number.—'Chief Moments (or Periods) in History of the Peace Idea' is a very thoughtful essay by L. A. Kamarofski, divided into four heads: 1. The period of antiquity; 2. The middle age; 3. The period of absolutism; and 4. Modern times; with a general conclusion in which, as Dr. Johnson once wrote, nothing is concluded, excepting the self-evident truism that Peace, if possible, is far more desirable than War.—'A New Work on the Amour Domain' is a review by A. F. F. of a volume entitled 'Description of the Amour Domain' by the Minister of Finance, G. E. Groum-Grzhimaylo, edited by P. P. Semenoff.—'On the History of Contemporary Georgian Literature' Prince I. G. Tchavtchavadzey is entitled to be heard, but his subject is a little wide of the beaten track of the average cultured Briton. A late learned theologian of Swiss parentage, the Rev. S. C. Malan. M.A., Vicar of Broadwindsor, did not, however, feel himself bound by British restrictions, but presented to the world among other works 'A Short History of the Georgian Church,' by Plato Ioselian, and a volume of 'Sermons by Gabriel, Bishop of Imereth,' translated from the Georgian. (London: Saunders, Otley, & Co., for both volumes). From these works the Western reader will realize that learning and piety have still their home in the East.—'Insurance of Labourers in Germany,' by G. B. Jollos; 'Observations concerning Literature,' by O. T. V.; and I. I. Ivanyoukoff's 'Outlines of Provincial Life,' are each continued. —'History considered as a Science' is a review of P. Lacombe's work of the same title, in French, by our old friend I. N. K.— 'Natural Production and Taxation,' by P. A. Goloubeff, and 'A Scientific Appraisement of Vegetarianism,' by F. F. Erismann, are papers which justify each its title.—'Foreign Review' is less interesting than usual. The parliamentary affairs of France and Italy almost crowd out all other news.—'Home Review' treats of the new project of criminal law, having in view the amelioration of the prisons department, and re-arrangement of sentences in accordance with modern requirements and the teaching of criminal legislature in foreign countries; the forthcoming general census throughout the Russian Empire, which will be carried out upon principles elaborated by science; the project of law regulating the Artel or workmen's guilds; the results of the working of the Zemtsvoe or Provincial Councils; the Commission for revising the existing laws with reference to charitable institutions; the forthcoming Congress in Moscow concerning Technical

Education; an obituary notice of N. Ch. Bungay, formerly Professor of Political Economy and Minister of Finance; and lastly a proposal from the Moscow Society for promoting useful knowledge of competitive essays for publication on the subjects of: 1. Persecutions of the early Christians; 2. The occupation and colonization of Siberia; and 3. On Water, its importance to the land, and its application to the needs of men, animals, and plants. —The 'Bibliographic Division' contains notices of 30 new works, of which two only have reference to English affairs; the one being entitled 'Auguste Comte et Herbert Spencer: contribution à l'histoire des idées philosophiques au XIX. siècle, par E. de Roberty. Paris, 1895; the other being a 'History of Civilization in England,' by Boklyah (?).

ITALY.

Rassegna Nazionale (August 1st).—P. B. has a paper on 'Manzonian Anniversaries,' giving a list of the principal publications and dates of events connected with the great Italian novelist. — G. Claretta relates the facts of the journey of Francis III., Duke of Tuscany, through Piedmont, and his stay at the Court of Charles Emmanuel III. of Sardinia.—Signora Savi-Lopez contributes an interesting article on the 'Popular Songs of the Slavs.'—V. Marchese discourses on 'Parish Priests as Schoolmasters.'—R. Ricci writes on 'Italian Parliamentarism.'—Professor Scalvanti has a hopeful paper on the 'Heritage of the Nineteenth Century,' upholding the faith in good, and in the victory of brotherhood and peace among the nations.—(August 15th)—E. Cenni discusses the importance of helping Italian Missions in the East.—S. Ricci describes the 'Study in France of Greek Juridical Epigraphs.' P. C. Tondini de Quarenghi has a paper on the 'Universal Hour and the Initial Meridian of Jerusalem.'—G. S. Scandaelli relates the chief facts in the life of 'Father Rauzan,' so well known in France, and so little in Italy.—P. Campello della Spina has a political article entitled 'Hopes and Fears;' and R. Corniani one on the 'Approaching Fêtes of the 20th of September.'—A. Zardo contributes a note about 'St. Antonio of Padua.'—(Sept. 1st)—'The Social Spirit' is a paper by G. M. Ferrari, purposing to show that true socialism has its roots in Christianity. He argues on the relation of religion to law and morals; the meaning of the revival of faith and the sentiment of duty; the effect of Atheism on human society. He describes the communism of the Apostles and of the first Christian sects, and notes the objections made to evangelical doctrine. He argues that the study of nature is promoted and not hindered

by Christianity, and ends by asserting that charity (in the sense of love) is the only weapon which can defeat the egoism of the strong, and the rebellious tendencies of the weak.—C. Carnevecchi gives a detailed account of monastic life in the thirteenth century.—A. Centelli has an article on 'Japan.'—Dr. Massalongo has something to say on 'Hospitals for Consumptive Patients.'—G. Zaccagnini criticises Guido Fortebracci's new romance 'The Romance of Ruggero,' calling it sincere art.—C. Mancini writes a few words on 'Cantu as a Politician.'—Follows an advance chapter of a new novel by Fogazzero, which will be published next month. The fragment is entitled 'Fisherfolk.'—(Sept. 16th)—In this number we have: 'Socialism in the late Elections,' by G. P. Assirelli; 'The Graphic Application of Electricity,' by R. Ferrini; 'Italian Prose,' by A. Ghignoni; 'Herbert Spencer on Religion and Science,' by F. de Felice; 'Notes of a Master,' by Daniele; 'Parliamentary Incidents,' by L. Ferraris; 'Pasquer's Memoirs,' by G. Grabrinskie, to be continued; and 'The Eucharistic Congress in Milan and the Celebrations in Rome.'

Nuova Antologia (August 1). — After continuations of previous papers, the present number contains an 'Account of Charles Bourbon II. and the Revolution of Parma,' by G. Sforza. — A. Chiappelli writes on 'Socialism and Art,' pointing out how Socialism has been treated in English, French, and German books, novels, and pamphlets. —An interesting paper is 'The Chemistry of the Atmosphere' by Massimo Tortelli.—A second literary paper is one by E. G. Boner (ended in next number) on 'Pessimism in Russian Fiction.'—The 'Bibliographical Bulletin' notices J. A. Hobson's, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, generally with praise, but pointing out that the author's explanation of the relations between machinery and industrial depression is very confused, and his observations about the necessity of consumption very strange.—(August 15).—Carducci writes apropos of a 'Dantesque diplomatic codex.'—E. Arbib discusses the late elections in England, and concludes that there is not a shadow of doubt that the decimated Liberal party will soon be once more victorious, most likely before the close of the century.—O. Brano writes a very pleasant paper on 'Rain and Wind,' using as a motto Longfellow's poem, 'How beautiful is the rain,' and quoting Shakespeare, Milton, and other English poets.—F. Nunziato begins a historical paper on 'Metastasio in Naples.'—(September 1).—R. Bonfadini has a paper on 'Rome and the Italian Monarchy.'—A. Venturi contributes an 'iconographico-aesthetic' study on angels.—G. Alboni

writes on 'Boiardo and his works.'—The esteemed novelist, Luigi Capuano, commences a new work called 'The Sphinx.' —P. Cantalupi gives a description of 'Vienna and its people.' —N. Scarano writes on the 'Solidity of the Shades in the Divine Comedy.'—Some satirical poems by Franchetti follow. —(September, 15th)—Signor Bonghi here writes an exhaustive political and statistical article on the '20th September.' He describes the causes and effects of the decadence which has taken place in Italy since that period, and indicates what efforts must be made to keep in mind the high aims which it was at first intended to reach. These aims are the only thing, he says, that can make Italy to be honoured. The Italian people are not wanting in energy, as has been sufficiently proved, and they must not be discouraged, but, looking high, they must 'work, work, work!' 'Let us not,' concludes Bonghi, 'abandon the least of our rights; let us not neglect the least of our duties towards the past and towards the future. The more difficult the task, the more we must persevere. And we shall conquer. *Avanti Savoia*, our Queen once cried. Yes; *avanti Savoia*, and *avanti Italia* with our Queen and King!'—P. Fambre contributes an interesting paper on 'Arnaldo Fusinato, as Man and Poet.'— E. Panzacchi writes on the 'Artistic Condition of Venice;' and Amilcan Lauria begins a series of articles on 'Old Neapolitan Memories' by the story of Michele Viscuso, the 'friend of the people.'—A. Zardo has something to say about 'Count Platen and Venice.'

Archivio Storico Italiano (1895, No. 2),—G. Salvemini writes on the abolition of the Order of Templars, apropos of a recent publication, *Schuld oder Unschuld des Templerordens*, by Dr. Gmelin.—G. Rossi contributes a paper on the death of the Count of Ieuda.—G. Sforza gives an account of the impostor Alfonso Ceccarelli and the Prince of Massa.—D. Marzi has some notes about further archives in Tuscan Romagna.

Giornale Dantesco (1895, No. 3).—D. De-Vit has a short article on 'Dante and Boniface VIII.'—G. Lamina writes on G. Barzizza's commentary of Dante, and on an inedited MSS.— G. Maruffi speaks of the obscure words of Love in the Vita Nova.—S. Saetti has something to say about Pier delle Vigne. —G. De Leonardis discusses the 'eternal beauty' on the face of Beatrice.—(No. 4.)—'The Pain of Suicide,' by S. D. Chiara. —'Barzizza's Comments and an MSS.,' by E. Lamma.—'A periphrase of Dante,' by L. Filomusi-Guelfi.—'A pretended Dantesque Contradiction,' by E. Carboni—'On the so-called Dante Chapel at Terni,' by U. Cosmo.

Riforma Sociale (July 10) contains:—'Work,' by F. S. Nitti.—'The true development of Labour-Associations,' by D. Hirsch.—'Fiscal Enormities,' by L. Paolini.'—'The Drawback,' by G. P. Sitta.—'Rural Banks and the Catholic Movement,' by A Contento.

Giornale degli Economista (July, August) contains: 'The Condition of the Monetary Marker;' 'Protectionism and Misgovernment;' 'The Cause of Protectionism;' 'Work and Nervous Maladies;' 'The Institutions of Credit in Reggio Emileê;' 'Providence;' 'Political Parties in 1895;' 'The Problem of Population in the writings of Francesco Ferrara;' 'Providence and Co-operation.' — (September, 1895). — 'The Agronomic Basis of the Theory of Rents.'—'Discordances in Dates on the Increase of Savings in Italy.'—'Two Articles on Liquidation.'—etc.

Napoli Nobilissima (July) contains: 'The Paintings of Mozzillo in the Hall of St. Eligio, by F. Bonazzi.—'San Marcellino,' by G. Ceci.—'The Sculptures of Michael Angelo Naccherino in Naples,' by A. di Serracaprioli.—'The Street of Toledo III. Noble Palaces,' by A. Colombo.—'The Naples Penacothek in 1802,' by N. F. Faraglia.—Notes and Reviews. —(August.)—'The Chapel of Minutolo in the Naples Cathedral.' —Part IV. of 'The Sansevero Chapel and Don Raimondo di Sangro.' — Continuation of 'San Marcellino' and of 'The Street Toledo.'—(September, 1895)—contains: 'The Madonna dell' Arco,' by G. Amalfi.—'Giovanni and Pacio of Florence and their works in Naples.' — 'The Mausoleum of King Robert in the Church of Santa Chiara,' by E. Bertoux.—'The Sansevero Chapel and Raimondo of Sangro,' by F. Colonna di Stigliano.—'The Names of the New Streets of Naples,' by C. del Pezzo.

La Vita Italiana (August, September, 1895).—'Neapolitan Types and Salons,' by A. Capiera'—'Profiles of Italian Artists.'—'In the Season of Harvest.'—'A Rare Ideal.'— 'Giordano Bruno in England.'—'From the Heart.'—'Heine and Modern Humour.'—'The Life of a Pontiff illustrated by a Painter'—'Venetian Type and Salons.'—'Literary Profiles.'— 'Distant Profiles.' — 'Biographical Profiles.' — 'Among our Flowers.'—'Italians Abroad.'—'City Couriers.'—'The Emperor of Germany in Rome.'—'The Venaria and the Mandria.'—'Our Babies.'—'The Army and Military Education.'—'The Journalists at Lepriguano.'—'Visions of the Past.'—'A Story of the Sea.'—'Away with the Flag; an Episode of the Chilian Revolution in 1791.'—'A Memory of Paolo Maspero.'—'The Baths of

Lucca.'—'Again about Loreto.'—'Alpine Pensions.'—'Rome in Historic Visions.'—'The Third Rome.'—'How the Temporal Power Arose.'—'Villa Corsini.'—'The Tiber.'—'The Portrait of Bianco Capello.'—'An Indian Landscape at Rome.'—'Alpine Landscapes.'—'Visions of the Past.'—'Italian Industries.'

Rivista Marittima (August, September, 1895).—'Side by Side.'—'The Mechanical Application of Electricity in Men-of-War.'—'A Contribution to the National Solution of the Balistic Problem.'—'The Low Project for the Merchant-Service.'—'The Mediterranean Military Situation.'

Rivista di Sociologia (August, 1895).—'Cerebral Decay and Primary Education.'—'The Tendency of Modern Thought and the Knowledge of the Future.'—'Languages and Literature in the Present Populations of Africa.'—Notes, etc.

FRANCE.

Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (No. 3, 1895).—M. E. Blochet furnishes a series of Pehlevi religious documents in Pehlevi character, and accompanies them with a translation and copious notes.—M. Albert Fournier takes us back to the old controversy that raged so vehemently in the early Church over Jerome's translation of the Hebrew *kikayon*, the plant that covered Jonah's booth, 'which came up in a night and perished in a night.' Jerome maintained, in defence, that there was no Latin word for the plant in question, and that the Septuagint was in error as to it in the rendering *kolokunthé* which it gave for it. M. Fournier reviews briefly the controversy, and then discusses the question itself as to what the plant was which the author of the book of Jonah had in his thought. Jerome's translation, *hedera*, ivy, he rejects, and regards Jerome's explanation of the kind of *hedera* intended as altogether unsatisfactory. The *kikayon*, he maintains, was known to Latin writers, and is referred to by Pliny, so that Jerome had no excuse for the blunder he committed. Herodotus also refers to it as a plant well known in Egypt, whose fruit went there by the name of *cici*. M. Fournier describes its properties, and the rapidity of its growth under very favourable circumstances. He identifies it with the *ricinus communis*. He does not, of course, discuss the question as to the historic character of the narrative in Jonah iv. 5, 6, but only as to what the plant was which the writer of the book had in his thoughts when penning that incident.—M. Alfred Millioud translates from the Japanese an account of the founding and history of the Catholic convent at Kyoto, which the Emperor Nobouanga, 1573-1592, raised

The narrative is from the pen of a patriotic Japanese, Ki-you, who shows no love for the convent or the principles it represented. The translation of the history is not finished in this number.—M. Eugene Monseur, under the title, 'Notes de Folklore à propos de l'épopée celtique de M. H. D'Arbois de Jubainville,' pays a warm tribute to the merits of M. de Jubainville's labours in connection with Celtic mythology and early literature in general, and specially in his *Cours de litterature celtique*, the fifth volume of which has recently been issued. The bulk of M. E. Monseur's article, however, is taken up with original 'notes,' the outcome of his personal researches in the same field, which he offers here as supplementary to the rich harvest of M. de Jubainville's gleaning.—M. I. Goldziher reviews M. René Basset's translation of the 'Bordah,'—'La Bordah du cheikh El-Bousiri,'—better known as 'the poem of Manteau,' and M. Emile Chassinat reviews Professor Lieblein's translation of the Egyptian work, which he titles, 'Que mon nom fleurisse.'—Several other important works are reviewed also at considerable length, and valuable summaries given of them, as, *e.g.*, M. Paul Regnaud's *Les premières formes de la religion et de la tradition dans l'Inde et la Grèce;* M. G. Maspero's *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'orient classique—Les origines—Egypte et Chaldee;* and Groot's *The Religious System of China, its ancient forms, evolution, history, and present aspect, manners, customs and social institutions*, two volumes of which have now been published.

Revue des Religions (No. 4, 1895)—Monseigneur Charles de Harlez introduces here to more general notice two ancient Chinese moralists, Shi-tze and Liu-shi, and favours us with samples of their ethical teaching. The ancient literature of China that has been preserved is unfortunately, in many instances, preserved in MS. in private or quasi-public libraries, but has not been published, and is only known to a few of the more curious and industrious of Chinese scholars. One of these latter is Mgr. de Harlez himself, and he endeavours here to pay a tardy tribute of respect to two worthy teachers of lofty ethical principles, who have been too long neglected, and whose teaching he rightly regards as worthy of the attention of the philosophers and moralists of the present day. Shi-tze was an honoured name in the time of the Han dynasty, and in those also of Sui and Tang. Since then he has suffered from a somewhat unaccountable neglect. He lived, Mgr. de Harlez thinks, later than Laotze and Confucius, probably in the fourth century B.C. Liu-shi was a distinguished statesman under Shi-hoang-ti, about the

middle of the third century A.D. The work he is credited with, and from which Mgr. Harlez here quotes extensively, is more a 'history' than a moral treatise (though ethical maxims abound in it), and is in fact entitled 'Tchun-Tsiou,' or 'Annals.' But it is to the ethical teaching of the work that our author here gives the greatest prominence, while he is at pains to show by quotations what is the general character of the treatise as a whole.—M. Bourdais writes on 'Le procede de sectionnement dans la cosmogonie sémitique.' He enters first into the ideas entertained by the Biblical writers of the creator of the universe, as revealed in the names by which they designated him—Elohim, Jahweh-Elohim, El-Elion, Chokmah, Amon, and by Phœnician and Chaldeo-Babylonian writers, in the names these gave him respectively. The Semitic writers, as a whole, regarded the agent of the creation as an intermediary between the Supreme Being and the objects created. Dr. Bourdais enters into elaborate details as to the Theogonies of Semitic writers, and compares the data they furnish bearing on the subject in hand.—The *Chronique* is again all that could be desired, and its comprehensiveness is worthy of all praise.

Revue des Deux Mondes (July, August, September.)—M. Edouard Rod heads the first of the six numbers for this quarter with the opening sections of an essay on Goethe. His object is to consider the German writer's works as though they were contemporary, to judge them on their own merits, and to arrive, respecting them, at a conclusion which shall be uninfluenced by stereotyped opinions. He begins his study with an examination of Goethe's Memoirs. From this he passes on, in the number for the 1st of August, to what he calls the 'romantic crisis'; and a third instalment, which appears in the first of the September numbers, deals with the sentimental crisis. Whilst endeavouring to do justice to Goethe, and whilst recognising the greatness of his genius, M. Rod does not share the somewhat unreasoning and uncritical enthusiasm which various circumstances have helped to revive of late years; and he does not hesitate to challenge the justice of the judgment commonly accepted as final with regard to certain works. Of this *Werther* seems to be that which he considers overrated. Whilst recognising its importance in literary history, he denies it a place amongst those works which seem destined to exercise a lasting influence, to remain as a real and active force amongst future generations.—In 'Villégiature, Bains de Mer et Stations Thermales' Dr. Jules Rochard deals from a scientific point of view with that question which, with an ever-increasing number of people, annually presents itself for solution, to wit, 'Where shall we go for our holi-

days?' The conclusion at which the ordinary reader will arrive is, that those are best off who are best able to follow their own inclination, without troubling greatly about the respective merits, from the hygienic point of view, of seaside and inland, highland and lowland resorts.—In two consecutive numbers, those for the 15th of July and the 1st of August, M. Emile Faguet makes Auguste Comte the subject of a very able and suggestive critical study, dealing first with his general ideas and his method, then with his ethics and his religion. The tone of the whole essay may be understood from these concluding sentences: 'Comte has rendered brilliant services to the human mind. Nobody has traced better than he has done the respective limits of science, of philosophy, and of religion, and indicated the point at which one should stop and the other begin, the point, too, where one, without being conscious of it, assumes the spirit and the method of the other, at the risk of entangling and confusing everything. These limitations are necessary, and everybody profits by them, or should know how to profit by them. Nobody has defined better than he has done the three essential tendencies of the human mind, which he takes, doubtless wrongly, for three epochs, but which, being without doubt eternal, should be exactly defined, in order that the mind should see clearly into itself. His penetration and his intellect, by enabling him to understand everything, have led him to love everything, except what is decidedly too narrow, too negative, too exclusively polemical, and a spirit of lofty impartiality reigns in all his work. As to the future of science, its final preponderance, its aptitude for satisfying the human mind and for exclusively ruling humanity, he perhaps entertained too great a confidence; and Positivism has not proved capable of all he credited it with, nor able completely to satisfy the human mind. He would answer that it is a matter of time, and that though the theological and metaphysical residuum has not yet been consumed, it is none the less destined to be so one day. Without being so confident as he, we may answer that it is a great deal to have given a precise definition, and an admirably clear, logical, and well-ordered systematic description of one of the essential elements of our knowledge, to have mapped out and sub-divided its domain, and clearly indicated its limits. Above all, it is something to provoke thought, and in this respect Auguste Comte is marvellous. He is the most powerful sower of ideas and intellectual stimulator that our century has seen; the greatest thinker, to my mind, that France has had since Descartes.'—In an article as remarkable for its literary merit as for its sound knowledge and appreciation of art, M. Robert de La Sizeranne inquires why it is that whilst

literature has made war and battles one of its favourite subjects, as witness Zola and Tolstoi, painting seems to have almost completely turned away from the subjects in which David, Gros, Géricault, and Vernet excelled. His answer, so far as it can be compressed into a few words, is that in antique warfare man was beautiful; in modern warfare, even down to the middle of the present century, he was picturesque; but now, he is a thinker: and that it is consequently no longer to sculpture nor to painting that the fighter belongs, but to literature, and notably to that literature which is termed psychological.—The 15th of July and the 15th of August bring further instalments of M. Filon's most interesting sketch of the contemporary English stage. In the former of them Byron's burlesques, Marie Wilton, Bancroft, Tom Robertson, and Gilbert, are dealt with; the latter deals with Sir Henry Irving, Tennyson's dramas, and Mr. Archer's dramatic criticism. It would be difficult to speak too highly of these articles of M. Filon's. They reveal not only a thorough mastery of the subject, but an independence of judgment and an originality which raise them far above the level of ordinary magazine literature.—Count d'Haussonville's personal reminiscences of the Comte de Paris appear in the first of the two September numbers, and supply some very interesting and most readable matter.—A narrative of the expedition to Madagascar in 1829, comes just at the right moment to be interesting, and is, after M. Filon's contribution—another instalment of 'The Contemporary English Stage'—the most generally interesting item in the somewhat heavy number that closes the quarter.

Revue des Études Juives (No 2, 1895).—This number opens with a short tribute to the memory of M. Joseph Derenbourg, whose death, at the ripe age of eighty-four, was felt in July this year as a universal loss to the world of letters. The present tribute is little more than an apology for delay in issuing one more full and worthy of the savant and philanthropist, who had then passed away, but tributes from the heads or representatives of several of the learned institutions with which he had been connected, and which in every case he had largely aided and adorned, are given here, and they all show how deep a chord was touched in all hearts by the tidings of his death.—M. M. Friedlaender contributes an extremely valuable and interesting article on 'La propagande religieuse des Juifs grecs avant l'ère chrétienne.' He brings out from the Greek Jewish writers, such as the authors of the Sibylline poems (the Jewish, of course, not the Christian), Philo, and other writers of the Diaspora, how strong the passion burned in the bosom of the Jews, whose lot made them daily wit-

nesses of heathen rites and superstitions, to see their neighbours freed from these, and brought to know, love, and worship Jehovah. The efforts made by these Jews to spread the knowledge of their religion, and to bring those around them under its power, were both earnest and numerous. They were, too, very successful; and M. Friedlaender is at pains to present here the proofs of that success, as gathered from the testimony of such writers as Josephus, Cicero, etc.; from those prejudiced perhaps in favour of the race to which they belonged, and rejoicing in the wide-spread and powerful influence they saw being exercised by it, and from those who were certainly prejudiced against the Jews, and who deplored that influence (which yet they acknowledged) as little short of a national calamity.—M. J. Lehmann gives us a first instalment of an essay entitled 'Les sectes juives mentionnées dans la Mischna de Berakhot et de Meguilla.' The sects here introduced to us are the 'Chassidim' and the 'Essenes,' with others. M. Lehmann begins his paper by quoting from the Seder Berakoth, ch. v., two sayings as to worshippers; the first is in praise of the 'pious of ancient days' who silently directed their hearts to God an hour before prayer, and the other as to those who made use of certain phrases or repetitions, which the author of the Mishna regarded as objectionable and derogatory to God. The first order our author here identifies with the 'Chassidim.' The name given them in the passage quoted—*Chassidim rischonim*, 'the pious of ancient days'—was the favourite name, in whole or in part, by which they were constantly designated, and M. Lehmann here adduces proof that they formed a select party in Judah, and describes their characteristics. Under the second class come the Essenes, the Jewish Christians, and Mystics. M. Lehmann enters into minute details (combining the teaching of R. Hanina and a passage from the Meguilla) as to why the things specified in the Mishna, as above, were objectionable. The article is not completed here.—M. S. Krauss continues and concludes his paper on 'La fête de Hanoucca.' In the previous number he had dealt with the origin and early history of the festival, and explained its joyful character and some of its peculiarities by showing its connection with the Feast of Tabernacles, as testified to in II. Maccabees. He takes up its history here in the days of Trojan. The observance of the festival by the Jews was regarded with suspicion by the Roman authorities, and even led to persecutions directed against them. M. Krauss quotes or refers to some interesting texts as to these persecutions. He quotes from several rabbinical authorities in regard to the events connected with the

festival in the first year of the reign of Hadrian, and then adds some observations on the sources from which he has drawn the details he has given, and on which he has based his conclusions.—M. I. Lévi sets himself in a paper, which he heads, 'La fête Hanoucca et le *Jus primae noctis*,' to correct M. Krauss in regard to what he had said in the previous part of his essay as to the origin of the part which women took in the festival. It was not, he says, the Syrians that M. Krauss's authorities charged with the offences they make mention of, but the Romans, and the name 'Syrians,' which appears in their texts, was a mere blind adopted from prudential motives. —The other articles to which attention may here be called are —M. W. Bacher's 'Le grammairien anonyme de Jérusalem et son livre'; M. G. Sacerdote's 'Deux index expurgatoires de livres hebreux'; M. I. Levi's 'Louis VIII. et les Juifs'; and 'Saint Césaire et les Juifs d'Arles'; and M. M. Schwab's 'Notes de compatabilité juive du XIII^e^ et du XIV^e^ siècle.'

Revue Semitique d'Epigraphie et d'Histoire Ancienne, (No. 3, 1895).—In his 'Recherches Bibliques' in this number M. J. Halévy confines himself to the text of Genesis xxi. Briefly summarising its contents, he then notes the various expressions and words in the Hebrew which call for explanation, or may be made more lucid by a reference to their usage elsewhere. After that he discusses the relation of the text to the narratives preceding it. Its references to these narratives are numerous, and perfectly clear. Verse 1 recalls the promises given in xvii. 16, and xviii. 14; v. 2 is the echo of xvii. 21, and of xviii. 14. The name given to the son of Abraham's old age, 'Isaac,' loses its significance without xvii. 17. 19. Verse 7 finds its explanation only in what is said already in xviii. 12-15. The term 'Egyptian,' applied to Hagar (v. 9.) points back to xvi. 1. Hagar's wanderings in 'the desert of Beer-sheba' are explained by what was said in xx. 1, that Abraham 'journeyed towards the south country.' The references to the preceding narratives in Genesis abound in fact everywhere in this chapter, and certify its unity with the history preceding it. Yet, M. Halévy complains, the critics of the modern schools declare the chapter a conglomerate from the various documents, A.B.C.; out of which they assert that our present Genesis is composed. M. Halévy regards this very chapter as not only flatly contradicting their theory, but as in itself sufficient to destroy the whole edifice they have so laboriously raised on the different names 'Yahwé' and 'Elohim' used for the Deity. The first five verses are extremely instructive, he shows, in regard to the system advocated by these critics of the 'modern school,' but in several other respects, which

he is careful to point out, this section of Genesis is adverse to their contention.—M. J. Perruchon continues his 'Index des ideogrammes et mots contenus dans les lettres babyloniennes d' El-Amarna,' in M. Halévy's transcription and translation of these letters.—M. S. Karppe also continues his 'Notes' on the text of the Nabopolassar inscription recently published in an amended form by Mr. H. V. Hilprecht, Professor of Assyriology in Philadelphia.—M. A. Huart's 'Epigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure' receives here another instalment.—M. E. Drouin, under the title, 'Les Inscriptions de Bhattiprolu,' directs the attention of the readers of this *Revue* to an article which the Professor of Sanskrit in Vienna, Prof. Bühler, published in the *Epigraphia Indica* of March 1894. and then, as No. 3 of his 'Indian Studies,' on the inscriptions found in the stûpa of Bhattiprolu, in the presidency of Madras. Their interest lies chiefly in the characters in which they are engraved. The alphabet employed is a variety of the Maurya alphabet. that known as the South Maurya alphabet. M. J. Halévy, in an essay which appeared in *Journal Asiatique* ten years ago, maintained that this alphabet has been formed on the Aramaic, and introduced into India after the Macedonians had penetrated into the Punjab, about 330 B.C. It is not to this point which M. Drouin calls attention but to Prof. Bühler's remarks on the script itself which is employed in these inscriptions. But in a long essay which follows M. Halévy himself deals with Professor Bühler's article, and especially with the arguments he marshals against M. Halévy's position as to the introduction of the script in question, into India. M. H. here reproduces those arguments in an abbreviated form, and then examines them, and shows how inconclusive they are. He proceeds then to strengthen the position he took up ten years ago by fresh proofs. and these for the most part drawn from the results of fresh discoveries made since then, and from the results of the labours of Sanskrit scholars in this field of study since 1885.—The 'Bibliographie' here is also from the pen of M. Halévy himself, whose literary industry and fertility seem inexhaustible.

Le Monde Moderne.—The August number contains a sketch by G. de Peyrebrune, and an interesting tale of fourteenth century Venice.—'Le Nouveau Voyage,' in a petroleum machine, and another paper, by M. Vallet, deal with France; and equally interesting are the articles on Thibet and Tonkin. —The centenary of the Paris Conservatoire suggests an account of its origin in the Revolution and the scenes in which it has played a part.—Military subjects are represented by 'The Russian Army on the German Frontier,' and M. Guydo's

'Present-day Warships'; and science by 'Azote and Vegetable Life,' 'The Corinth Canal,' under the title of the 'Deepest Cutting in the World'; and a paper on the 'Depopulation of the Sea,' in which reference is made to the station at Dunbar and to the work of various Scottish scientists.—(September). —Fiction is well represented by 'Yanossik,' a Polish story, and 'Le Psautier fleuri,' an idyll of convent life.—M. J. de Convey describes the Dutch women's headgear.—Other papers are on 'Montenegro,' 'The Hurricanes on the Atlantic Coast of the United States in 1893,' the two little German capitals, 'Luxembourg and Sigmaringen'; while M. Legras takes us further afield to Archangel.—Art is represented by 'The Engravings in the Louvre,' and 'L'Oeuvre de Berlioz.'—Other writers deal with 'Military Telegraphs,' 'Iron Foundries,' the 'Breton Sardine Fisheries,' and 'The Triumph of Modern Surgery.'—(October).—Specially interesting articles in this number are those on the Caverns of Sanct-Cazian in Austria, which have only been accessible for the last two or three years, and that on 'An Open-air Museum,' being a collection of characteristic dwellings of North European peoples, arranged in Sweden by M. Hazelius.—Other articles are, 'Légende de Mistral,' 'Notes athéniennes,' 'Un ancêtre des Anarchistes,' 'Les Vins du Médoc,' 'Jours de triomphe,' 'Les surprises de la route,' describing the quaint old city of Landsberg.—Papers of the same description deal with Chartres and Brussels.— Captain Danrit discourses in a somewhat sanguine tone on 'Military Cycling,' and M. de Loges has an interesting paper on 'The Modern Steam Laundry.'—M. H. Buffenoir gives one of a series of papers on the 'Salons of Paris.'—All the numbers of the magazine are noticeable for their excellent illustrations.

Revue Celtique (Juillet, 1895).—The first place in this number is given to an article bearing the signature of M. S. Reinach, on the 'Religion of the Galatians.' According to Dr. Whitley Stokes, the Celtic religion followed precisely the same ritual in Asia as in Gaul—an opinion which Dr. Usener has endeavoured to confirm in a paper recently contributed to the *Rheinische Museum*, with the object of showing that both the Eduans and the Celts of Asia Minor were both worshippers of a certain goddess, Diana. M. Reinach examines a number of passages, and decides against both.—M. I. Loth, in a note, returns to his controversy with Zimmer anent Nennius.—Dr. Whitley Stokes here completes his excellent papers on 'The Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas,' and furnishes the whole series with the requisite indices.—Following these we have a note

from the pen of M. Loth on the 'Lot among the Germans and the Celts.'—Two papers follow dealing with the grammar and dialects of the Breton tongue.—In the 'Necrologie' we have a sympathetic notice of the late M. F.-M. Luzel.—As usual, the 'Chronique' is full of information, and much that is of interest may be gleaned from 'Periodiques.'

SWITZERLAND.

Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse (July, August, September)—In the paper which he entitles 'The New Scientific Terms adopted by the French Academy,' and which heads the table of contents of the first of these three numbers, M. Ernest Naville points out how the progress of science is indicated by the inclusion of new terms, and how, in consequence, the dictionary supplies a summarised history of that progress during the last thirty or forty years.—Concluding his article on the question of Morocco, which has already run through two numbers, M. Pierre Martel suggests, as a possible solution of the political problem to which Morocco has given rise, the neutralization of the country, or at least of the Straits, of which the strategetical importance is comparable to that of the territory bordering on the Suez Canal.—M. Aug. Glardon brings his study of Robert Louis Stevenson's works to a close. Much of it is devoted to summaries and quotations, intended as much to arouse the reader's interest as to illustrate his own critical remarks. The conclusion at which he arrives is that 'Stevenson will have been very useful to the English language, and to a certain extent to psychology; that his tales of adventure will delight future generations; but that he will have had no influence on the moral life of his contemporaries.'—'Petoefi, a Magyar poet,' who, at the age of 26, died on the field of battle of Segesvar, is made the subject of a very interesting biographical and literary essay by M. Edouard Sayous.—Colonel Lecomte examines, in a paper entitled 'La Revision militaire en Suisse,' certain reforms which it is the intention of some statesmen to propose for adoption. The article, obviously, is only of slight interest for those who are not quite familiar with the military organization of the Helvetian Republic.—'L'Argent et les Fortunes dans l'ancienne France,' is the title of a paper which M. Rossier bases on the *Economic History of Property, Salaries, and Commodities*, lately published in France. The article is most instructive, and shows how immensely the purchasing value of money has diminished from century to century. As an example, it takes a capitalist possessing 1000 livres tourois in the year 1200. By lending it out at 10

per cent., no unusual rate in those days, he gets an income of 9796 francs (nearly £392 of our present money). Two centuries later, to say nothing of the difficulty of getting the same rate of interest, the capital produces only 3388 francs (about £139). In 1600, not only has the value of money fallen, but the rate of interest has come down to 6½ per cent., and the income sinks to 417 francs—less than £5. Finally, in 1895, it has been reduced to 33 francs, 25 centimes, or something like £1 7s. 6d!—A very original idea has been carried out by M. Paul Stapfer in his essay, 'La Fille de Montaigne.' From the essayist's own works, he has pieced together a sketch of the only one of his six daughters who lived beyond childhood. The article is particularly interesting as practically illustrating Montaigne's views on education.—In the three numbers there are instalments of a paper on Swiss railways.

SPAIN.

La España Moderna (July, 1895.)—The 'Drama' of Emilia Pardo Bazan is completed in this number, ending in a tragedy, effectively but not melodramatically told.—A study of 'Captain Clavijo,' and the mental processes by which he arrived at the commission of the crime of shooting General Rivera, is a careful psychological examination of the difference between a criminal, and a normal intellect driven to commit what is virtually a crime. Without excusing Clavijo, Rafael Salillas 'explains' the conduct of a noble soldier, who 'redeemed all his faults by the grandeur of his death;' who had been driven by suffering to desperation, until he touched upon madness.—'The Cuban Insurrection,' takes a very calm, but necessarily prejudiced view of the situation. It acknowledges the wrongs of the island, but holds them to be economic and not political, and to be cureable by the Spanish Parliament, and not by war. The writer, however, ignores the fact that Cuba has groaned for long under the wrongs complained of, and objects to be sucked dry for an impoverished mother country, that has not reached its liberal standpoint. A valuable and interesting paper nevertheless.—Echegaray's pleasant and readable 'Reminiscences' continue.—Castelar in his 'International Chronicle,' gives us a better insight into his views by discussing 'Albert,' the French Republican leader lately deceased. He reviews the European situation with a wide grasp, and states his confidence in a 'Conservative Republic.'—'Cuban Naturalists,' enters into a department of literature which is valuable, and ought to be consulted by our bibliographers.—'The Literary Chronicle' deals mainly with the academic receptions and addresses; 'The International Press' with

the Jewish woman, who was on an equality with man.—Wolf's most informing 'Spanish and Portuguese Literature,' with notes by Menendez y Pelago, is continued.—(August, 1895).—'Pedro Mari' is a short tale of life on the Spanish-French frontier, on the outbreak of the Peninsular war, by Arturo Campion.—'Political Satire in the time of Henry IV.,' endeavours to show that, although 'without doubt the twenty years of that reign, and especially the last ten, was one of the saddest and most calamitous of our history,' yet this reign produced the clever satires *Coplas del Provincial* and *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo*.—'The National Archæological Museum,' in the New Palace, gives a resumé of the contents of the National Museum of Antiquities, thrown open free to the public in Madrid lately.—'The Modern Spirit in Spain' is a curious philosophic study of causes and effects, such as specially appeals to the Spanish mind, ruminating over the decay of its former glory, and hopeful of the new development.—'Juan de la Encina,' is a translation from the German of an account of this fifteenth century Spanish poet and author: an acknowledgment of German erudition and Spanish neglect!—'La Celestina,' the mother of the Castillian drama, which appeared in the second half of the fifteenth century, is the subject of an article based on issues of the work in Spain, Germany, and France, during the present century. This so-called *tragi-comedy* is considered the pioneer of all dramatic attempts in modern languages, and this article, with its high encomiums on the author, is also a translation from the German of Wolf.—Castelar complains in his 'International Chronicle' that the division of parties in Belgium into 'Liberal' and 'Catholic' is most dangerous: assuming as it does that no Catholic can be Liberal, and no Liberal can be a Catholic. He equally protests against France going for Tunis, Tonquin, and Madagascar, without other result than friction with England, enmity with Italy, and alliance with Russia.—Under the strange title of 'Apostleship of Printing in Spain,' we have an account of the pioneers—perambulating German masters of the new Art—who introduced it into the Peninsula.—'The Religious problem in the Novel,' deals with two new Spanish works of fiction, by Péréz Galdós, entitled 'Torquemada and St. Peter,' and 'Nazarin.'—'The Future of the White Race,' and 'Women and Darwinism,' complete a most interesting number.—(September, 1895.)—Under 'Thirty Years After,' Sánchez Pérez gives some interesting reminiscences from the year 1848, of many of the Spanish notabilities—his friends.—'Present position of women in Spain,' by Doña Concepción Arenal, is a paper sent a few days before this lady's death to the Chicago Exhibition. She

holds that the Spanish woman is an imperfect worker, and consequently her work is little appreciated and badly paid for: that she is devout and superstitious, but not religious, substituting credulity for belief. The teaching even of males is at a low ebb, and that of women much lower. In law, women are debarred all public offices and looked upon as minors, while they are not thereby exempted from any responsibility, or allowed extenuating and mitigating circumstances. In politics they have no rights whatever, and all public offices or professions are debarred to them. In civil law the provinces differ, but the husband controls the wife's property without accounting, and she cannot spend his without asking. The author says little for the morality of her sex in Spain, and makes the important statement that, 'with us prostitution is not a safety valve as some pretend, but a focus that gives a measure of the evil, and contributes to propagate it.' Yet she concludes that during the last forty years women have improved, in spite of the narrow circle in which they are bound to practice their social virtues.—Castelar eulogises the Catholic Congress at Lisbon, for, while he is alarmed at Socialistic tendencies in politics and government, he does not fear them in religion and the Church. His reasons are somewhat transcendental! He is in admiration of England's power to control herself, but cannot believe in Chamberlain and Balfour being long brothers.—'Medicos in Antiquity' is full of interest.

De Gids.—A considerable space in the August and September numbers is occupied by a short novel of Couperus entitled 'Universal Peace.' It is a sequel to 'Majesty,' and the scenes are laid in the same lordly palaces, only the former Crown Prince is now Emperor. The interest and excellence of the former story is fully sustained. The young Emperor begins his career with a peace congress from which he hopes to date a new era for the world. Bitter disappointment awaits him, and he has instead to stamp out a revolution in his capital by force, and in the end to content himself with very moderate constitutional changes. The study of his character, his idealism roughly colliding with actual events, and his sensitive nature forced to grapple with rude realities is really admirable. No less admirable is his consort, at first cold and restrained towards him, but at last, through sympathy, begotten of trials endured in common, and mutual anxieties about their child, the pair discover their mutual devotion to each other. Other characters, Prince Edward and Princess Vera, in their unrestrained freedom of life and manners, act as a foil to the more exalted and high-toned personages.—In August, Van Deventer gives an excellent study of one of Plato's Erotic Dialogues,

'The Tyrant's madness, The Politeia.'—The Editor, Van Hall, contributes a paper on the 'Letters of Aimée Desclée,' the French actress, an often sad and pathetic revelation of the inner life of one whose public career was brilliant and gay.—There are two consecutive articles by Duflou (August and October), on 'Secondary Education in England.' Our, to a foreigner, appalling confusion of public and private schools has been well studied and comprehended. His description of Harrow as a typical public school is admirable. He recognises that everywhere in England secondary instruction is in a transition stage, and he remarks on the irrepressible national tendency towards the practical. In his second article he discusses the physical training given, not without appreciation, though it appears to him abnormal, and he certainly writes entertainingly on the subject. Moral training is his next head, under which he treats of the insular barbarity of flogging, and on other points has most interesting comparisons with French, German, and Dutch schools. Seemingly inconsequent, English pedagogy is, as regards morals, practically a success. The same cannot quite so surely be said of intellectual training, and here, too, comparison with Continental methods is full of interest. His remarks leave the impression that England has much to learn. His general conclusion is, that in English schools the duty of solving educational problems is for the most part evaded and left to be done in the sphere of the family. Our schools strike him as characterised as a whole by want of order, and in them there is constantly met a pushing to excess of pedagogic fads, still, on the whole, there are many excellences.—Another, for English readers, most interesting series of papers (September and October) is the collection of letters of Baron van Dedem, a Dutch Minister and Member of Parliament, who died last spring while on a tour in India. A short biography by Mr. N. G. Pierson, to whom the letters were written, is prefixed. They are dated from Bombay, Rawal Pindi, Calcutta, and other places in British India and Ceylon, and are extremely valuable as giving a foreign statesman's impressions of British rule, while, from a literary point of view, they are bright and delightful reading.—Cort van den Linden contributes (September) a discussion on the position of the Conservative party, as regards the suffrage and its extension, which everyone is aware must shortly be granted. The question is how to arrange it consistently with the preservation of the solidity and stability of the constitution.—The life of Huxley is appreciatively noticed by Professor Hubrecht.—An article signed M., treats of the origin of the Seven Years' War according to the views of the most recent German historians.

Ranke's great history forms a standard for comparison, and the moderns are represented by Max Lehmann and H. Delbrück. —'Thirty Years of our History, 1863-93,' by Mr. W. H. de Beaufort, is a careful and well written record; but Holland in this period can scarcely claim much attention from outsiders. —A new story, 'Toga and Sword,' by Jaeger, begins in the October number. The scene is laid in the tropical islands of Dutch India.—'Brain Surgery,' by Professor Winkler, is a treatise on the beginning and growth of this branch of medical science brought down to its most modern developments, not omitting mistakes and errors which, however, not infrequently were the means of leading into a true path.—'A Justification of Reformers of Written Language,' is a curious article by Dr. Hoogvliet, in which he valiantly defends certain projected alterations in the spelling of his native tongue.

HOLLAND.

Theologisch Tijdschrift (September).—The number opens with an article on 'The Question of the Character and Origin of the Evangelical Narrative' by Mr. J. van Loon, occasioned by the appearance of Brandt's *The Gospel History and the Origin of Christianity, based on a Criticism of the Narratives of the Passion and the Resurrection of Jesus.* The radical measures of this German writer excited horror in many breasts; it was but little of the history, they felt, that survived his treatment. He did, however, acknowledge as undoubtedly historical a number of the features of the part of the narrative dealt with, and this the Dutch writer who is of the most advanced 'modern' school regards as a grave error. All the Gospel history is to his eyes ideal; it is all invented later, as the dress of certain ideas which had sprung up and established themselves in a Christian community. The first thing to be done with regard to the Gospels, he holds, is to settle what is their general character. Are they to be accounted for on the supposition that a real historical person, called Jesus, existed, and that these stories gathered round him? To an advanced 'modern' the supposition is intolerable; to him it is certain that, by a sort of nebular theory, the facts and stories of the Gospel tradition consolidated themselves out of a certain philosophic way of thinking which prevailed, he thinks, in Alexandria in the second century. The choice of Galilee as the scene of the story, the mention of Pontius Pilate, the crucifixion, and each point of the elaborate invention, is accounted for with some perfunctory reasons. If the Dutchman does not regard these reasons as adequate, for he betrays an uneasy consciousness that his method, if generally applied, would bring

all history to the ground, he yet brings them forward to serve the purpose. The paper is a remarkable instance of the art of turning history upside down, and compels the reader to suppose that in Holland the Gospels themselves are not seriously studied according to the new Synoptic method, but only theories about them. There are not wanting signs that even in Holland a reaction may ere long set in against this windy and topsy-turvy method of historical science.

ICELAND.

SUNNANFARI (an illustrated Monthly, Vols. III. and IV., July, 1893—June, 1895).—These two volumes are quite up to the level of the earlier one already noticed in this *Review*, and contain much that is interesting to students of Icelandic literature. Among the prose articles may be mentioned an appreciative notice of Guy de Maupassant, and a translation of his story, 'Moonlight;' an account of various old novels, the scene of which is laid in Iceland, by Olaf Davidson; two on the question of establishing an Icelandic University at Reykjavik, a matter warmly advocated by the editor; one on music in Iceland, and one entitled 'Criticisms and New Poems,' by Thorstein Gislason. This writer has some excellent articles in Volume IV. on 'New Icelandic Literature,' 'The Scientist' (in which is some grim satire), 'Atheism,' 'Science and Belief,' 'The Railway Question' (a humorous and sarcastic piece), and 'Icelandic Literature at Copenhagen University,' which is a spirited protest against the neglect of Iceland's later literature by the authorities there.—Two pathetic stories appear under the pseudonym of 'Thorgils gjallandi,' called 'Fölskvi' (a horse's name), and 'The Christening Dress.'—Among the longer reviews are several of living Icelandic poets, while the shorter notices include one of a new folk-lore collection by Olaf Davidson, and a pretty severe one on the Rev. W. C. Green's translation of Egil's Saga.—In the department of poetry these two volumes are particularly rich. Thorstein Erlingsson contributes some pieces in his daintiest style, such as 'Spring,' 'The Picture,' 'The Shrike,' and 'Verses,' while he touches a deeper note in 'My Book,' and is full of strong satire in 'The Pharisee's Prayer,' in which there is not a little unwitting resemblance to Burns.—Einar Hjörleifsson's dreamy muse is represented by 'The King woos the Carl's daughter,' 'The Rose,' etc.—Matthias Jochumsson, the translator of Shakespeare and Byron, pays an eloquent poetic tribute to the memory of Dr. Gudbrand Vigfusson.—'Skútahraun,' by Einar Benediktsson, is a majestic survey of a lava-field, and a strik-

ing contrast to his bright poem, 'Summer-morning'; a set of 'Verses' by the same author show the true Icelandic delight in complexity of rhyme.—The work of the veteran poet, Grim Thomsen, is not unrepresented, together with many other pieces by younger men, who rise well to the general high level of Icelandic poetry.—These volumes are also very rich in portraits of leading Icelanders, which form its distinctive feature; a number of these are among the literary men mentioned above, others are Members of Parliament, and very interesting faces many of them are.—Altogether, *Sunnanfari* reflects great credit on its editor and on the nation from which it comes.

Eimreidin (Parts 1 and 2, 1895) is the title of a new periodical, edited by Dr. Valtýr Gudmundsson of Copenhagen University. Its name signifies *The Locomotive*, and is meant to suggest the question of introducing railways into Iceland. The two parts for 1895 (of about 80 pages each) are extremely readable. The first contains articles on 'Railways,' 'The Latin School,' and 'Insurance in Ancient Iceland,' by the editor, the latter describing a curious system of communal insurance established by law in Iceland before the thirteenth century; on 'Icelandic Industries,' by Jón Jónson; 'Consumption in Iceland,' by Gudmund Magnusson; 'The Serum-cure of Croup,' with illustrations; 'Life in Copenhagen,' by Jón Jónson.—In the second part there are papers on 'Peat and Coal,' by Helgi Pjetursson; 'Belief in Fairies in Iceland,' by Finn Jónson, from which we learn that there is now practically no belief in them at all; 'Niels R. Finsen and his (Medical) Discoveries,' by Bogi Melsted.—There is also a very appreciative notice of the poems of Steingrim Thorsteinsson, written by Thorstein Erlingsson, whose own work is reviewed in terms of the highest praise by Thorstein Gislason.—Further, there are translations of two interesting tales, one by the Finnish author Juhani Aho ('The First Settlers'), and one by Björnson ('A Ghastly Memory of Childhood').—In poetry there are some excellent things in both parts, especially those by Thorstein Erlingsson, whether these are in his lighter vein, like the 'Song of Spring,' and 'Little Bard on bough so green,' or in the deeper strain of 'The Path,' a stirring appeal to his countrymen to go forward in the path of progress, and 'In the Hospital,' which is a touching and powerful protest against the doctrine of eternal punishment and the faith founded upon it. Dr. Valtýr (who also appears as a poet) is to be congratulated on having secured so much talent for the first issues of his journal.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Lectures on Preaching. By W. Boyd Carpenter, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Ripon. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

These lectures were delivered in the Divinity School at Cambridge a little more than a year ago, and to those who listened to them must have been exceedingly profitable. They are informed with a rich experience, both of preachers and preaching, which is set forth in that clear and attractive way with which readers of the author's writings are well acquainted. The lectures are in all six, and treat of the Preacher and his Training, the Sermon and its Structure, the Preacher and his Age, and the Aim of the Preacher. On all these topics the author speaks with authority, and delivers himself of wise and weighty counsel, to which both those who are already preachers and those who are intending to be such would, we should say, do well to give heed. The Preacher, Dr. Carpenter, defines, using Lord Beaconsfield's phrase, as 'a man of light and leading.' 'The man of light,' he says, 'gives us knowledge and truth, and their value is quite independent of the man who gives it; but the man of leading leads because of certain qualities in himself which come into activity when in contact with men.' These two qualities of the Preacher are dwelt upon at considerable length, and with an abundance of illustration. So also is the necessity for their combination if the preaching is to be effective. Referring to the second quality, Dr. Carpenter remarks, 'As a matter of history, the charm of the great preachers of the past has been in something which their published sermons never produced. Those who heard Newman preach tell us that it was not exactly the thing said which impressed them, but the sense of the preacher's personality as it passed across the manuscript to the hearer's heart.' Another illustration of the same principle is given us from Dr. Chalmers' life. 'He was fond of preaching his old sermons. He did so openly, giving notice of his intentions; but the crowds still came to hear from his lips even sermons which were in print. The personal force of the man gave something which these printed words could not give. The words became luminous as they sprang from his lips.' As a training for the ministry the author demands careful self-cultivation,—reason, knowledge, imagination, and affection should alike be trained into strength and use. For the preparation of a sermon Dr. Carpenter urges three things—reflection, reading, writing. As for the form and structure of sermons he would have every man follow the bent of his own mind, requiring only that the thoughts should be ordered and that the sermon should grow. Order, he insists, is essential. The form or framework, he thinks, may and ought to vary. The late Bishop Brooks used to say that every sermon should follow the same lines and be cast after the same mould. Bishop Carpenter disputes the dictum, and thinks that the form should adapt itself to the subject and to the mood of the preacher. He has much to say also on the preacher being abreast of his age and on his speaking the language of his times, and on his suiting his message and manner to the requirements of his hearers. Altogether the volume is full of advice, much of which is of sterling worth to preachers, whether old or young.

The Elements of Ethics. By JAMES H. HYSLOP, Ph.D., Instructor in Ethics, Columbia College, New York. William Blackwood & Sons: Edinburgh and London. 1895.

This is not an easy book to review with scrupulous fairness. As the author points out in his Preface, it 'is designed as an introductory treatise upon the fundamental problems of theoretical ethics.' That is to say, the book is intended primarily as a means of entrance into a difficult subject for beginners. It can hardly be said that it is likely to fulfil this purpose with conspicuous success. There are two main reasons for this judgment. In the first place, analysis is carried out to excess. Indeed, so extended are the ramifications into which Dr. Hyslop permits his thought to run that it becomes positively obscure at points. Distinction is heaped upon distinction till even the expert has to turn back once and again to assure himself that he has grasped the precise line of argument. Probably Dr. Hyslop has fallen into this error from a laudable desire to avoid writing, as so many others have done, a book merely useful for cramming exigencies. If so, he has certainly succeeded, but at the expense of committing other errors which, if less conducive to intellectual laziness, are at least as fatal to the beginner. In the second place, Dr. Hyslop himself falls, not infrequently, into that besetting sin of the young student—the use of technical terms when ordinary words would probably have served as well. If, then, for these reasons the work is unlikely to subserve the end for which it was manifestly intended, one must not run away with the idea that it is wanting in merit. In fact, the reverse is rather the truth. For those who are engaged in the work of teaching or of investigating—mainly with a reference to their more immediate history—ethical problems and doctrines, the book is likely to be of great assistance. It is distinctly suggestive and stimulating; it is wonderfully free from dogmatism; and it nowhere descends to the level of preaching. The chapters on Freedom and on Responsibility are real contributions to the subject, and the author's whole tone is admirably fair and objective.

John Stuart Mill; A Study of his Philosophy. By CHARLES DOUGLAS, M.A., D.Sc., Lecturer in Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. William Blackwood & Sons: Edinburgh and London. 1895.

One might easily object to this book according to a well known, and perhaps sufficiently merited, method. It shares a certain characteristic manner with many works on particular writers which issue from the Neo-Hegelian school. It might be dismissed by saying that it treats Mill by the method of double refraction. Where he was strong, he shared, unconsciously of course, the doctrines of Hegel; where he was weak he departed from those tenets, and to bring him into line with them is the critic's task. But it would be unfair to Dr. Douglas to allege that this is all he has done. If nothing else, he has faithfully studied Mill. He knows his author, and does not try to squeeze him into a certain ready made mould. Here and there, no doubt, he seeks to find idealistic affinities which few would have suspected, but this is an error which he shares with so many of his school that we must be thankful for the comparative absence of it. The main criticism to be passed upon the book is that the author does not sufficiently indicate his own doctrines. The chief strength of the study, on the other hand, lies in the fact that it is the first attempt to set Mill's thought in the historic line of philosophic development.

Owing to the limitations which preconceived ideas impose upon him, Dr. Douglas has not said the final word on this subject; but no candid reader can fail to see that in the future any one returning to Mill's place in speculative thought must reckon with this book. It is also to be commended for a painstaking analysis of Mill's work—of his *ipsissima verba*—such as is not too commonly found in the writings of Neo-Hegelians when they try to set past thinkers in their 'proper' historical position.

The History of Greece from the Commencement to the Close of the Independence of the Greek Nation. By ADOLF HOLM. Translated from the German. Vol. 2. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

In this volume Dr. Holm follows the same plan as he adopted in the first, setting out with commendable brevity and clearness first the history as derived from old and trustworthy records; next, the additions made to it by biased contemporaries or in later antiquity; and then the conclusion at which modern research has arrived. The advantages of this method in writing the History of Greece and for the intelligent study of it has been admitted on all hands, and Dr. Holm is to be congratulated both on the invention of it and on the skill and thoroughness with which he is carrying it out. The second volume, dealing as it does with the history of Greece during the fifth century B.C., is of surpassing interest. The great events of the period are succinctly but vividly described, and the different phases through which the history of them has passed are clearly indicated. The principal original authorities depended upon are of course Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. Among the most important passages in the volume are those in which Dr. Holm discusses the value of the records of these writers for the purposes of his history and compares them with the writings of such authors as Plutarch and Diodorus. On several points Dr. Holm differs from his predecessors, as for instance, in his estimate of the position of Aristides and Themistocles, the aims of Pericles, and the different currents of civilisation in the Greek world as a whole. His views as to the character of the Persian wars are on the whole similar to those advocated by the late Mr. Freeman. As might be expected the chapters dealing with Sicily are of special importance. Those on the art and literature are brief and among the best in the volume, and the one on The New Culture at Athens may be commended to others as well as to the student of Greek History. Many of the notes to this volume are of considerable length. At page 418 we have a sketch of the history of the coinage of Western Greece supplementary to that in the first volume of the author's *Geschichte Siciliens*. A number of the notes are controversial. Their principal value, however, is that they put the reader in possession of the latest results of modern writers on Greece and Greek history. The translation, as in the first volume, is excellent, and the translators, whoever they are, deserve the thanks of English readers interested in historical matters for giving them access to so admirable a work.

Fife: Pictorial and Historical; Its People, Burghs, Castles, and Mansions. By A. H. MILLAR, F.S.A., Scot. 2 vols. Cupar-Fife: A. Westwood & Son. 1895.

Though not to be compared with the magnificent tomes of some of the English county histories, these two quarto volumes which Mr. Millar has prepared on the kingdom of Fife will easily bear comparison with any of

the volumes in which the history of the Scottish counties is recorded. The paper is good, the type is excellent, the letter-press is set off with ample margins, the publishers have come into possession of a series of excellent plates, some of them by artists of the first reputation, representing the shores of Fife, and with some of these and others which have been specially prepared for the work, the volumes are abundantly illustrated; the binder also has done his part with efficiency, and nothing has apparently been left undone by the publishers to make this latest of the histories of Fife take the foremost place among them. Mr. Millar's share in the production of the work, while by far the largest and most important, has also been the most laborious. For his information he has evidently travelled far and wide; for much of it he has to all appearance had frequent recourse to original sources, and would evidently appear to have visited all the places he mentions, note-book in hand. The first and third chapters, which treat respectively of prehistoric Fife and of the mineralogy of Fife have already, as we learn from the preface, done duty in the *Shores of Fife*, the volume from whence a number of the illustrations have been drawn, but here they have undergone revision, the latter by Professor Heddle, its author, and the other to the approval of Dr. Laing, by whom it was originally written. These chapters are followed by a series of others in which among other things the Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, the Parliamentary and Ecclesiastical Histories, the Local Government, and the Population and Valuation of the County are treated. In all these chapters, which serve as a general introduction to the work, Mr. Millar has brought together a vast mass of information from a great variety of sources. Many of his statistics do not come down to a later year than 1892, but the reason for this we suppose is that at the time the tables were prepared no more recent statistics were accessible. For a similar reason we imagine some important facts in connection with the history of education in the county which have transpired since then, have not been registered, and the changes consequent on the institution of Parish Councils have been passed over in silence. In an Appendix, however, an attempt is made to supply these deficiencies. After discussing the general topics just referred to Mr. Millar proceeds to give an account of the various parishes in the county. Beginning with those in the Cupar district he goes on to treat of those in the Howe of Fife, in the St. Andrews district, in the East Neuk, along the South Coast, and in the Markinch district, and then of the remainder in the West and North of the County. In dealing with a parish Mr. Millar's method, speaking generally, for it is not invariably followed, is to describe first its position, and extent, and geographical features, next, its antiquities and history, both civil and ecclesiastical, and then to give some account of its estates, landowners and principal families. Literature is of course not forgotten. In the chapter devoted to the Parish of Kilrenny we have a long notice of 'Polemio-Middinia,' or the 'Midden-Fecht,' a humorous poem written by Drummond of Hawthornden in doggerel Latin verse during his stay with his brother-in-law, Sir John Scot, at Scotstarvit Tower, in 1628. From what has now been said, it will be seen that Mr. Millar has tried to treat his subject in as large and comprehensive a manner as possible. Of course in travelling over so large a field Mr. Millar has had to deal with many obscure and many doubtful and debateable topics. The best of men make mistakes, and Mr. Millar, though he tells us that he has made the history of Fife a special study, is no exception. Some of those into which he has fallen are somewhat singular for so constant a writer. On page 2 crannogs are confounded with pile-dwellings, though the difference in their construction is very considerable, and the right description of the former is quoted immediately after

from Dr. Munro's book on *Ancient Scottish Lake Dwellings*. Whether the 'castle' at Collessie and 'the regular fortalice, situated in a bog, with ditch and drawbridge' mentioned on the following page were built upon crannogs has not so far as we know, been ascertained. Certainly neither the 'castle' nor the 'fortalice' is a crannog. The inscription which Sir James Melville caused to be built into the wall of the burial place of the Hallhill family is not 'faintly visible' as Mr. Millar says, but perfectly legible. Strangely enough on page 328 of the first volume Mr. Millar quotes as 'the inscription on the headstone which marked the grave where the five Covenanters who assassinated Archbishop Sharp' were buried, the lines :—'A faithful martyr here doth lye,' etc., which are inscribed on Andrew Gullan's stone standing about a quarter of a mile away. The suggested derivation for 'Dunino' is not happy. Mr. Millar would bring it from *Dun-ingheanach*, meaning 'hill of the daughters.' A more likely derivation and one which is suggested by the position of the place, is *Dun-aonaich*, 'the foot of the moor.' When speaking of this parish Mr. Millar omits to mention the 'Bell Craig' in the den of Dunino, with its remarkable pot-hole. The antiquarian work done at Falkland and St. Andrews deserves more attention than it receives. When speaking of Dundee College in connection with the University of St. Andrews Mr. Millar simply says the former 'was affiliated' to the latter. This is evidently a slip, as Mr. Millar is aware, we should suppose, that the attempt was to do more than 'affiliate,' and that from 1890 until the Order of the Commissioners was annulled Dundee was made to form part of the University. In a large work like the present, however, inaccuracies and omissions are sure to occur. Still, Mr. Millar's work, notwithstanding the points to which we have called attention, is so far as we know the most comprehensive and best history of the county which has yet been written.

The Universities of Aberdeen: A History. By ROBERT SANGSTER RAIT, M.A. Aberdeen: James Gordon Bisset. 1895.

Mr. Rait has done his work well. In a series of excellently written chapters he has traced the history of the two Aberdeen Universities down from their first inception to their union and almost to the issue of the last of the Ordinances of the Universities' Commission. For his material he has gone for the most part to the original sources, and has allowed them to speak for themselves. At the same time he has not allowed these to burden his pages with unnecessary details; he has carefully sifted his material and produced a volume which, besides being full of recondite information, is eminently readable. First he gives a sketch of the state of Education in Scotland up to the time of Bishop Elphinstone, with special reference to the founding of the Universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow. Next, we have a brief but graphic sketch of Bishop Elphinstone, and then the story of the foundation of King's College, Aberdeen, together with an account of its charters, endowments, teaching and principal *alumni*. Marischal College is then treated in the same way. To very many readers this part of the narrative will in all probability prove the most interesting of the two as being the less known. Anyhow there is no lack of interest in it. The jealousies and quarrels between the two Universities, as well as their own internal strifes are narrated. Mr. Rait also sketches the various attempts made to unite the two institutions previous to their union in 1858. A work of so much ability deserved a little more consideration at the hands of the printer and might have been put into a better type. The type in which it has appeared may perhaps be accounted for by the small price at which it is published.

Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland. By the Rev. NORMAN L. WALKER, D.D. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.

These 'Chapters' apparently form one of the series of the Chalmers' Lectures. Dr. Walker does not profess to give in them a history of the Free Church of Scotland during the fifty and odd years of its existence, but a series of sketches descriptive of the leading experiences through which it has passed. Generally speaking, the sketches he has given are those of the origin of the Free Church and the development of its various organisations. In the first of the Chapters we have, of course, the story of the Disruption controversy, written from the Free Church point of view, and in a highly controversial strain. In the other chapters there is less of this, and their value is thereby enhanced. In these we are able to follow the almost heroic efforts which the new organisation made to set itself firmly upon its feet and to carry on its work as a branch of the Church of Christ. One chapter is devoted to a narrative of the efforts made for the union of the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland; and another to setting forth the literary work done by ministers and others of the Free Church, of whose writings there is a long, if not a complete, list. Dr. Walker writes clearly. The non-controversial parts of his volume are valuable, and form important chapters in the ecclesiastical history of the country.

The Catholic Revival of the Nineteenth Century: A brief and popular account of its Origin, History, Literature, and General Results. Six Lectures by GEORGE WORLEY. With an Introduction by the Dean of St. Paul's, London: Elliot Stock. 1894.

Among the many volumes which have been written in connection with the great religious movement inaugurated, among others, by the late Cardinal Newman at Oxford, this is almost, if not quite singular. Mr. Worley was not mixed up in it: he is not a clergyman, but a layman leading a commercial life who has devoted his leisure hours chiefly to the study of the works bearing upon his subject. That there is anything new in the volume can hardly be said, but it has the merit of containing a layman's thoughts about the 'Catholic revival,' and shows us distinctly how it has presented itself to the lay mind. On this account it is worth reading; and not on this account alone. Those who have read the larger narratives will here find most that they have there read in a condensed form and put with great freshness, while those who are unacquainted with what is now a matter of history will obtain with the smallest amount of trouble to themselves a very clear conception of one of the greatest, and in fact of the greatest of the religious movements of the present century. The first lecture is specially interesting as containing a somewhat graphic description of the state of religion in England previous to the appearance of the once celebrated 'Tracts for the Times.' In the rest of the lectures Mr. Worley traces the growth of the movement, its literature and the fruits which the 'revival' is now bearing in England. The lectures are written in a popular style, and here and there in their pages are passages culled from the writings of Cardinal Newman, Mr. Moberly, Dean Church, and others who took a greater or less part in bringing about the results described in the concluding lecture.

Wolfe. By A. G. BRADLEY ('Men of Action' Series.) London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

The inclusion of a narrative of the career of the Conqueror of Quebec in this series is a matter of course. Few men have a greater title to be included in it. If not a 'man of action' Wolfe was nothing. He wrote admirable dispatches and was an excellent correspondent, but from his fifteenth year up to the moment of his death he was engaged solely in the profession of arms, and had served in no fewer than seven campaigns before he had reached his twenty-first year. Besides seeing service on the Continent, Cape Breton, and the Heights of Abraham, he passed a great part of his short but eventful career in Scotland. He was present at Culloden and took part, though much against his will, in the ruthless work which followed. On this account, perhaps, as well as for other reasons, he disliked Scotland. All the same he was in command among other places at Stirling, Perth, Dundee, Banff, Fort Augustus, and Inverness, where he made himself popular, and did what he could to soften the asperities of the times and to reconcile the Jacobites to the existing state of affairs. Mr. Bradley, in the volume before us, follows him from place to place, and gives a minute account of his doings. The greater number of his pages, however, is devoted to the campaigns in Canada. He does full justice to the ability of Wolfe, to his enthusiasm and his daring. He has a good word to say for Montcalm, and gives graphic descriptions of the capture of Louisbourg and of Quebec. His volume, indeed, is one of the most attractive in the series to which it belongs, and recalls one of the greatest feats in the history of war.

George Morland, Painter, London (1763-1804). By RALPH RICHARDSON, F.R.S.E. London: Elliot Stock. 1895.

Morland was one of those unfortunate individuals who are their own worst enemies. Blessed with a vigorous constitution, abundant spirit, and fine talent, he might, but for his own folly, have produced more and perhaps better work, and have lived and died happily. He did not choose to control himself, notwithstanding the efforts of his parents and his own better judgment, and the consequence was that, whatever his success as an artist, his life was practically a failure. Mr. Richardson does not try to palliate his faults. He likens him, not without good reason, to Burns. The two were spoiled children of genius, spoiled by the society in which they moved, but chiefly by themselves. Morland's life has been written before. In fact, he has had no fewer than four biographers before Mr. Richardson, and the excuse which his most recent biographer has for making him the subject of a volume is that the four other biographies are now exceedingly scarce, and that he has further information to give respecting his works. Biographies like Morland's are not without their attractions. If they point a moral, they also afford opportunities for depicting phases of social life which history and biographies of a different stamp usually overlook. Mr. Richardson has done his work well and succinctly. Morland, he admits, had little excuse for his faults, save that he was probably not wisely brought up, and that the habits of the times were bad. The information given in the appendices is valuable, and concerns the fortunes of Morland's works. Mr. Richardson has done his best to fix their dates, and has given a list, so far as known, of those which have been engraved. Notwithstanding all that may be said against him, there was something great about Morland, and perhaps Mr. Richardson is not without some measure of justification when he pleads that his private sins,

which were for the most part against himself, should be forgotten in view of the excellence of the work he gave to the world. This new biography appears in an excellent form and is illustrated with copies of some of Morland's best known works.

Prophecies, Miracles, and Visions of St. Columba, First Abbot of Iona, A.D. 563-597. Written by ST. ADAMNAN, Ninth Abbot, A.D. 697-704. A New Translation. London: Henry Frowde. 1895.

Some time ago Dr. Fowler published an excellent edition of the text of Adamnan's life of St. Columba, furnished with an admirable introduction and many valuable notes. Here he has translated the text for English readers. The introduction of the Latin edition is omitted as well as the notes and we have here simply the translation. From a note prefixed to the little volume we learn that the Translator's first consideration has been to make the version as accurate as possible, and that he has often imitated the style and construction of the original when the words might have been put into better English. Many parts of the translation we have diligently compared with the original text and have no hesitation in saying that, as might have been expected, the work has been done with careful accuracy and singular skill. In many places the translation is word for word, and the English reader is on almost every page brought as near to what Adamnan actually wrote as it is possible for him to be through the medium of another language. The low price at which the volume is published should place this masterpiece of hagiology in the hands of many to whom it has hitherto been inaccessible. It should be added that, as far as possible, Dr. Fowler has given the modern names for the places mentioned by Adamnan.

The American Commercial Policy. Three Historical Essays. By Ugo Rabbeno, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Modena. Second edition. Translated at the Translations Bureau, London. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Since their first appearance these essays have had the advantage of being partly re-written and entirely revised. In the first of them Professor Rabbeno traces the history of the commercial policy pursued by Great Britain towards her North American colonies from their origin down to the Declaration of Independence in the year 1776. In the second the history of the commercial policy of the United States is given; and in the third the Protectionist theories of Hamilton, List, H. C. Carey, and S. N. Patten are reviewed and criticised. Professor Rabbeno is a disciple of Adam Smith and an adherent of the principles of Free Trade. His aim in the present essays while historical is also exegetical. The essays themselves have been called forth by the strange contrast which exists between economic science and the actual state of things; economic science maintaining the theory of Free-trade almost as a dogma of faith, while the actual state of affairs shows in the present day as well as in the past, notwithstanding the efforts which have been made to perfect and propagate the doctrines of Smith and Ricardo, a widely diffused policy of protectionism. This condition of affairs is, in Professor Rabbeno's opinion, due to the fault of scientific method. 'The abstract theory with regard to international trade,' he says, 'is sound enough, but the concrete idea, that

is to say, the historical interpretation given to each particular fact is very defective. The former,' he adds, 'can to a certain extent be a guide to the latter, but of itself is absolutely insufficient.' And what he now proposes is to exchange the inductive for the deductive method, and instead of tracing in theory the rules which under certain abstract and uniform conditions, international trade should follow, to ascertain by inductive investigation the historical laws which it has followed in America and the causes which at different epochs in its economic existence have determined the adoption of the one or the other system of commercial policy. Hence, while historical and exegetical, his essays are also argumentative and strike out an almost entirely new line in the history of economic science. To follow the author into all the ramifications of his arguments and researches, or even into any of them, is here impossible. We can only say that whatever novelty there is in the essays is not due to anything in the general theory maintained, but to the way in which the author approaches the subject, and to the new reading which he gives to things, and generally to his application of a more scientific method to their interpretation. If here and there Professor Rabbeno hesitates it is not because he has any doubts as to the principles of his scientific masters, but to the greatness and obscurity of the problem with which he has to deal, or to the want of a sufficiency of facts for a clear induction. The thoroughness of the work is manifest on every page, and it can only be regarded as a valuable and timely contribution to a great and difficult subject, which is every day becoming of greater practical importance.

The Oxford English Dictionary: A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. (Deject-Depravation, and Depravative-Development.) Vol. III. Edited by Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. (Fee-Field.) Vol. IV. Edited by HENRY BRADLEY, Hon. M.A., Oxon. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. July and October. 1895.

The publication of this great work continues with remarkable punctuality—a punctuality which is all the more remarkable when the vast amount of work which the preparation and issue of each Part involves is considered. In the two parts now before us, edited by Dr. Murray, the Editor in chief, 2444 main words, 66 combinations, and 322 subordinate words are dealt with, which, with the obvious combinations recorded and illustrated, but not defined, make up a total for the two sections of 2832 words, while the number of illustrative quotations in the sections reaches the high figure of 14,080, a number which largely surpasses that given in any other English Dictionary. The section edited by Mr. Bradley contains 962 main words, 229 subordinate words, 183 special combinations explained under the main words, and 27 obvious combinations recorded and illustrated without definition, making a total of 1645. The total number of illustrative quotations in the part is 8562. Many points of interest are brought out in the several parts. Among others, Dr. Murray points out that of the 1269 main words treated in the July Section, not more than ten are of Old English origin, the chief being 'dell,' 'delve,' 'dempster,' 'den,' 'dene;' attention is also called to the current corrupt spelling of 'delight,' the displacement of 'depeach' (Fr. *dépêcher*) by 'dispatch' from the Italian *dispacciare*, and to the total loss of the transitive senses of 'depart' as in the original form of the English Marriage Service, 'till death us depart.' The series of articles under Demi and its compounds are extremely interesting, particularly the article under demijohn. Of

peculiar interest, too, in Dr. Murray's October part, are the articles under 'depravity,' 'detail,' 'determine,' 'development,' 'derrick,' 'dervish,' 'desk,' 'deuce,' and 'derring-do.' In Mr. Bradley's section the etymologies of 'feeze,' 'felon,' and 'feud,' are corrected, and the curious sense-history of such words as 'feed,' 'feel,' 'feign,' 'fence,' 'fetch,' and 'fetish,' is given. The Dictionary, indeed, is almost as entertaining as it is instructive. It is almost impossible to open it without finding something to attract and interest, and in searching its pages, one is apt to find oneself drawn away from the object of one's quest, unable to resist the temptation to loiter among its treasures.

The Speech of Cicero in defence of Cluentius. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by W. PETERSON, M.A., LL.D., Principal of University College, Dundee. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Though not mentioned in the title-page, this volume is apparently a new and revised edition, both the introduction and translation along with the commentary having appeared before in a less elaborate form. The former translation it is suggested may be regarded as a draft; the one now offered may therefore we suppose be regarded as final and perfect, at least as far as the author is concerned. The introduction covers fifty pages; the translation a little more than twice as many, and the commentary or notes about fifty in smaller type. The whole work is intended for the benefit of the 'English reader,' and the hope is expressed that parts of it may not be without use to advanced scholars. As told by Cicero the story which the speech *Pro Cluentio* unfolds loses nothing in the telling. 'The element of human interest in it,' as Principal Peterson observes, 'is sustained throughout, even in the remote ramifications of a most intricate plot; and, in addition to the outbursts of eloquence that mark the progress of the action, the story is lit up by the vivid dramatic faculty which the orator always had at his command, as well as by touches of humour and pathos, the effect of which need not be wholly lost in an English rendering.' Whether any or all of this has been reproduced in Principal Peterson's rendering is of course another question. Translation is not easy, and to reproduce an effect produced by one of Cicero's orations is probably more than even so fluent a writer as Principal Peterson can accomplish. It may be said, however, that he has apparently spared no effort to put the 'English reader' in possession of all the ascertainable facts in connection with Cluentius and the company of villains with whom he was associated in the famous trial, and to make the text as intelligible as he can. The Introduction is sufficiently elaborated, but is rendered somewhat dull and confused with legal and other discussions, which for the sake of those for whom the work is mainly intended might have been left out or differently handled. An English reader coming across the following sentence: 'The arrangement of the first part of the speech, for example, was evidently adopted from a shrewd calculation of the effect it could not fail to produce on the minds of the bench,' will naturally suppose that the reference is to the minds of the presiding judges and not to those of the jurors. So again when Dr. Peterson says 'the votes of the whole bench being cast against him,' the English reader for whom he writes will naturally suppose that the votes of the presiding judges were cast and not those of the jurors. 'Bench' for a panel of jurymen is not the sort of English an Englishman would use if he wished to be intelligible. But to turn to the translation. Niebuhr and others were right when they recommended the systematic study of the speech to those who wished

to perfect themselves in the art of expression. We doubt, however, whether any one will recommend the translation now offered to us either for that purpose or for acquiring a knowledge of the grand style in oratory. In the original there is force, vivacity, and sufficient evidence of an intensely dramatic delivery. Dr. Peterson, however, has failed to reproduce it. The English reader if he reads nothing else than Dr. Peterson's version of this great speech will obtain but a very poor idea of Cicero as an orator, and fail to gather anything like an adequate idea of the speech *pro Cluentio*. Here for instance is the first sentence we have turned up. 'Quid? aviam tuam, Oppianice, Dinacam, cui tu es heres, pater tuus non manifesto necavit? ad quam quum adduxisset medicum illum suum, iam cognitum, et saepe victorem, mulier exclamat, se ab eo nullo velle curari, quo curante suos omnes perdidisset;' and here is Dr. Peterson's rendering of it: 'Again, is it not a patent fact that your father, Oppianicus, murdered your grandmother Dinaea, whose heir you are? He brought to her that doctor of his who had already more than once given proof of his conquering skill; but the lady cried out that she would on no account be attended by one "whose attentions had lost her all her children."' Compared with Cicero's words Dr. Peterson's rendering cannot be called lively. It may represent the sense; it certainly does not represent the spirit of the original. To take but a single instance. Everybody has felt the force which even a modern speaker, who is no orator, can throw into the single word 'what' when used interrogatively. Consummate rhetorician as he was one can easily imagine the force, intense, if not almost terrific, which Cicero would throw into the 'Quid' with which the above sentence begins, yet Dr. Peterson tamely renders it by the word 'again.' Elsewhere too he has failed to throw himself into the speech and to realize the tremendous character of the statements Cicero was continually handling. Some of his phrases, also, do not seem to us altogether improvements, happy, or accurate, or sufficiently well chosen to bring out the meaning of the original. 'Itinerant quack' is no improvement upon Ramsay's rendering, 'itinerating quack' for 'pharmacopolam circumforaneum.' 'Being in a hurry' is a very weak rendering for quin properaret (14, 40). 'Likewise when Dinaea was making her will, Oppianicus, as having been her son-in-law, got the tablets into his hands and ran his finger through some bequests she was making' as a rendering for 'Eadem hac Dinea testamentum faciente, quum tabulas prehendisset Oppianicus, qui gener eius fuisset, digito legata delevit,' will not pass muster. 'As *having been* her son-in-law' is, to say the least, singular. It may perhaps be admitted to be grammatical, but grammar has sometimes to give way to facts, and as a matter of fact Oppianicus *was* her (Dinaea's) son-in-law, and to make the rendering English either the two words 'having been' require to be dropped out or 'being' requires to be substituted for them. 'Ran his finger through' fails to bring out the force of 'digito . . . delevit.' Think of a similar translation for 'Carthaginem delevit!'

The Harp of the Scottish Covenant: Poems, Songs, and Ballads relating to the Covenanting Struggle. Collected and Edited by JOHN MACFARLANE. With a Preface by Professor J. CLARK MURRAY, LL.D. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1895.

Most readers will appreciate Professor Clark Murray's remark that not until he had read Mr. Macfarlane's book did he believe so much had been written in verse about the Covenanting Struggles. It would almost seem

indeed as if most makers of verse in Scotland had at one time or other tried their hand upon one or more of its exciting scenes as affording a suitable subject for poetic treatment. Anyhow Mr. Macfarlane has not had to complain of want of material for his anthology. So far as we can judge he has had something like a plethora, and his difficulty has been to select. With the selection he has made few will be disposed to find fault. Among the poems he has printed we meet with some which have long been well known and not a few which are new. All of them are in some way or other connected with the great struggle of which Professor Clark Murray in his brief but pointed preface says, and says truly, 'it had in it all the elements of a national *epos*,' while many of them, though not cast in the form of the highest poetry, are calculated to stir the national pulse. They bring back the memory of a great time when men counted religion of more value than life and did not hesitate to lay down the latter in order to preserve their faith or to maintain their right to be free.' Such men deserve an anthology. They are the backbone, the living soul of a nation, and Mr. Macfarlane by compiling this volume has only done them an homage to which they are richly entitled at the hands of those who inherit the rights for which they fought, suffered and died.

Fingerprint Directories. By FRANCIS GALTON, F.R.S., D.C.L., etc. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Mr. Galton here gives directions for the formation of Fingerprint Directories, or for the methodical arrangement and classification of fingerprints in order to the identification of the individuals whose fingerprints they are. In addition to these directions we have the greater part of the Report prepared for the Home Secretary by a Departmental Committee instructed to inquire into the best means available for identifying habitual offenders. As most are aware, the Committee reported in favour of Mr. Galton's system, of which their Report contains, among other things, a very lucid description. Mr. Galton also gives a specimen Fingerprint Directory of 300 sets, together with a series of plates illustrating a number of the forms which the ridges of the tips of the fingers take. The volume is a necessary sequel to Mr. Galton's two previous publications, and though not put forth as final, will considerably facilitate the work which he has in hand and with which his name will be associated as one of the best methods of identification, if not indeed as the readiest and surest.

Report on the Work of the Labour Department of the Board of Trade (1893-94). London: Eyre & Spottiswode. 1894.

Report by Miss Collet on the Statistics of Employment of Women and Girls. Same Publishers. 1894.

Report on Gain-Sharing and Certain Other Systems of Bonus on Production. Same Publishers. 1895.

Report on Wages and Hours of Labour, Parts I., II., and III. Same Publishers. 1894.

These publications are not literature in the ordinary acceptation of the term, and the general reader usually turns aside from them as things of no interest. Attention is here called to them, however, as parts of a series of publications initiated and carried on by the Board of Trade, which are not only of first importance from a commercial or mercantile point of view, but in which a good deal may be found to interest and in-

form, more especially in connection with the labouring classes. Of course their pages are for the most part filled with tables and statistics, still the figures in them are usually so admirably arranged that their bearing is not difficult to make out. As for the letterpress by which they are accompanied, it is the work of experts, whose letters, prefaces and notes, are full of reliable information, clearly and succinctly put. Some of the reports mentioned above are particularly interesting, and deal with topics which are at present attracting a considerable amount of public attention, and occupying the serious thought of those who are trying to solve the various social problems of the hour. Miss Collet's Report deserves particular mention, as also does Mr. Schloss's Report on 'Gain-Sharing.' The former will probably provoke controversy, but both of them are valuable contributions towards the solution of important social problems.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Acts of the Apostles, by T. E. Page, M.A., and A. S Walpole, M.A., (Macmillan). Some years ago Mr. Page published an edition of the Greek text of the Acts of the Apostles with a commentary in which he kept to the narrow path of pure exegesis. This volume having been reprinted four times he has now availed himself of the assistance of Mr. Walpole to adapt his notes to the text of the authorised version, and the result is a purely exegetical commentary for English readers. The work is carefully and successfully done. An informing introduction is prefixed, and a glossary of obsolete English words is added. The little volume ought to be of great service to those who wish to understand the exact literal meaning either of the English or original text.

Prolegomena to St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and the Ephesians (Macmillan) contains chiefly a couple of lectures delivered by the late eminent scholar the Rev. F. J. A. Hort as Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. To the lectures are added analyses of the two Epistles. The lectures themselves are intended to serve as introductions to the Epistles, and though not covering all the ground which is usually taken up in 'Introductions,' are characterised by that careful scholarship and conservative tendency which readers of the late Professor's writings are accustomed to meet with in them.

The Essentials of Logic by Bernard Bosanquet (Macmillan) is a series of ten lectures on judgment and inference delivered by their author in connection with the University Extension movement. Only the two last lectures deal specifically with judgment and inference, but those which precede them contribute no less essentially to explain the nature of these mental acts. The lectures were well received on their delivery, and they may be commended as forming an excellent introduction to the study of larger works on the science of logic.

Mr. Wordsworth Donisthorpe is already well known as the author of *Individualism in Politics*, a work of considerable merit, and one of the most important criticisms which the theory of socialism has called forth. In *Law in a Free State* (Macmillan), while renewing his attack on Socialism, he advocates the doctrine of Individualism, which he believes is rapidly spreading and gathering to itself a large number of disciples, chiefly as a result of the teaching of Mr. Herbert Spencer. His own work is written in a popular style. Here and there he points out, not without a considerable amount of humour, how individualism and socialism are embodied in existing laws and recent attempts at legislation. Some of his speculations are curious, especially those on marriage, which in many quarters may fail to find acceptance.

Dr. Fowler's new edition of his short treatise on *Progressive Morality* (Macmillan) is substantially the same as the first. Here and there it has been corrected and expanded, but the theory is the same. Dr. Fowler, however, has taken the opportunity which the issue of this edition has offered of making two remarks for the purpose of avoiding misconceptions. The first is that under the term morality he includes the whole range of human conduct, and the second, that throughout the treatise morality is discussed as an independent science, and altogether apart from religious or theological grounds.

Much of the information contained in Dr. Macintosh's *History of the Valley of the Dee* (Taylor & Henderson) is such as is not to be found in ordinary histories. All the same it has its worth and helps to give a vivid idea of the district and its inhabitants. It is a district with which the author is thoroughly acquainted, having apparently been born and bred there. With the places he describes he is familiar, and to the knowledge he has been able to acquire from books concerning the district he has added much from his own reminiscences.

The Rev. W. E. Cousins has spent over thirty years in the island of Madagascar as one of the agents of the London Missionary Society, and being on furlough has utilised his holiday in writing a small volume which is now issued by the Religious Tract Society under the title *Madagascar of To-day*. It contains little over one hundred and fifty pages; but in them he has managed to give an instructive and graphic account of the geography of the island, together with a history of its inhabitants and their institutions. The volume is illustrated with portraits, maps, and sketches of scenery. At the present moment the volume will be read with interest as dealing with a place which is now a seat of war.

The Beginning of the Middle Ages, by the late Dean Church, is not a new book but a reprint. Messrs. Macmillan & Co., having obtained the necessary permission from Messrs. Longmans, have added it to their 'Eversley Series.' Those who have the rest of the Dean's works in this series will no doubt welcome it, as will also others. It is much too good a book to be allowed to remain among school books. For those who wish to make themselves acquainted with the period to which it is devoted no better introduction can be commended.

To their 'Golden Treasury Series' Messrs. Macmillan have added a selection of the poems of Robert Southey. The selection has been made and arranged by Professor Dowden, and may be said to contain almost, if not all, that is best in Southey's poetical writings. Professor Dowden contributes a sympathetic, but not uncritical, introduction.

Thackeray: A Study (Macmillan) is an attempt on the part of Mr. Adolphus A. Jack to form a critical estimate of Thackeray as a novelist. The 'Study' shows a considerable acquaintance with the writings of Thackeray and some amount of critical power. The canons of criticism laid down by the author are not always observed. His division of Thackeray's literary career into periods may be commended. That Thackeray should have developed his characters in other than the books in which they first appeared is not a matter for blame. Nor does the fact that he did not in *Vanity Fair* depict the entire fashionable world strike us as a subject for censure. Mr. Jack has not said the last word about Thackeray, though much of what he says is true, and all of it deserves to be considered.

The teinds is a subject on which there is much ignorance and misapprehension. At the same time it is not a subject that is readily understood, at least by the lay mind. In his little handbook which he entitles *Dis-*

endowment Doctrines Disapproved (Lewis, Selkirk), Mr. J. B. Douglas, W.S., has done his best to make it intelligible to all. He has written, in fact, not for lawyers but for the public. Everything about the tiends he does not profess to explain; but any one of average intelligence may learn from his pages sufficient on this knotty legal topic to prevent him from falling into serious error and to enable him to correct some of the errors which are afloat.

Mr. Nicholson has issued in the 'Mermaid' Series a second volume of selected plays from the works of Ben Jonson. The title of the volume is of course *Ben Jonson*, and the publisher is Mr. Fisher Unwin. Three plays make up the volume—'Bartholomew Fair,' 'Cynthia's Revels,' and the classical 'Sejanus His Fall.' As in the previous volume each play has an introduction prefixed to it, Mr. Nicholson being the author.

Men, Women, and Books, by Augustine Birrell (Elliot Stock), is not a new book, but in this, its cheaper form, it ought to find a still larger number of purchasers. The Essays, as we need hardly say, are all pleasant reading, full of genial thought and admirable humour. Of course Mr. Birrell has his own way of thinking and his own way of looking both at men women and books, and his own opinions about them, opinions too which he is nowise slow to express, but they are always so carefully balanced and their expression so apt, that, however much we may differ from him, one has always the consciousness while reading him that we are in the company of an extremely interesting and genial companion, to whom to listen is a pleasure.

Tales of the Covenanters, by Robert Pollok, illustrated by H. M. Brock (Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier). This is a reprint of a once much read volume. It covers much the same ground as Mr. Crockett's most recent novel, and has perhaps not been without its influence in the writing of that story. Be that as it may, Pollok's narratives have not lost their interest, and though not exactly written in the modern style are well worth reading. The present edition is adorned with a series of excellent illustrations, and the publishers have added to the Tales an account of their author.

Repentance Tower and its Tradition (G. P. Johnstone, Edinburgh), is the paper which Mr. George Neilson read some time ago before the Glasgow Archæological Society, and which he has now reprinted with a few verbal alterations and embellished with several photographic plates. The little volume is of some importance to antiquaries. It contains a careful argument which attempts to solve the puzzle connected with this ancient Annandale monument, which is associated with so many incidents in Border warfare and around which tradition has woven a legend of some pathos both in regard to its origin and its name.

The volume entitled *The Story of Barlaam and Joasaph: Buddhism and Christianity* (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta) which has been prepared by the Rev. Dr. K. S. Macdonald and the Rev. Jno. Morrison, Principal of the General Assembly's Institution, Calcutta, is a work of considerable scholarship, and apparently well adapted for the purpose they have in hand. It contains five English versions of the legend, viz., The History of the Five Wise Philosophers, or the Life of Jehosaphat or Joasaph, printed for Ed. Midwinter, in 1732, Caxton's version in the Golden Legend, and the texts of the Vernon, Harleian, and Bodleian MSS. Dr. Macdonald has supplied the volume with a scholarly and excellent introduction in which he proves pretty conclusively that neither the Life of Buddha nor the teaching of Buddhism had any influence on the Gospels or other Scriptures of the New Testament, and that there is no reason

whatever for supposing that either our Lord or the Evangelists or Apostles ever heard either of Buddha or his doctrines. Dr. Macdonald also discusses the history of the Legend, and has some apposite remarks on Jacobus de Voragine and his Legenda Aurea or Lombardica Historia as it was originally called. We meet, however, with no reference to the version of the Legend which is given by Vicent of Beauvais in the fifteenth book of his Speculum Historiale, in which he has evidently used a different source from Voragine. The philological notes have been added by the Rev. Mr. Morrison, the learned Principal of the Scottish Church's Institution in Calcutta. These are carefully and thoroughly done. Many of the words, however, which he derives from the Danish might have been traced back to the Icelandic or Old Norse. The grammatical parts of the notes are excellent, and the entire volume ought to be of great service to those for whom it has been prepared.

A Visit to Bashan and Argob, by Major Algernon Heber-Percy (Religious Tract Society) is a very handsomely printed and beautifully illustrated record of a journey which the author paid to this little known district of Palestine lying to the East of the Sea of Tiberias. Though frequently mentioned in the Scriptures, this district has been rarely visited by Europeans or Biblical scholars. The region is extremely difficult to traverse both on account of the roughness of the country and on account of the character of its inhabitants. The country has all the appearance of having been frequently tossed and torn by earthquakes, its people are wild and dangerous, and it was only under the friendly protection of the neighbouring Druses that Major Heber-Percy with his wife and two sons was able to travel in it. It is rich, however, in architectural remains, and judging by the narrative and illustrations here given the travellers we should say were well repaid for the trouble and danger they underwent. The volume, as we need hardly say, is both entertaining and instructive, and casts considerable light upon the fortunes of this part of the inheritance of the Sons of Jacob.

Among the recent publications issued by the Librairie de l' Art (Paris) are *Benvenuto Cellini*, par Emile Molinier, *Herbert Robert et son temps*, par C. Gabillot, and *Polyclète*, par Pierre Paris. All of them belong to the 'Les Artistes Célèbres' series. The names of the authors are sufficient guarantee for the excellence of their separate works. In addition to the above we have received from the same publishers an illustrated edition of the Flemish legend, *Le Sire de Ryebeke*, of the *Historie du Gras W. Lemaigre et du maigre W. Legras*, and *Les Anciens Instruments de Musique*. The last is by M. E. de Bricqueville, and treats of a great variety of stringed, wind, and percussion instruments of music, many of which are no longer in use, but are still sought after by the curious in these matters.

Redburn, by Henry Ochiltree (Alex. Gardner), though evidently by a new hand is by one who has a high ideal of what a novel ought to be, and who with practice may soon achieve it. It is a Scottish story, but by no means of the 'Kailyaird' species. Mr. Ochiltree, for such we must call him, writes forcibly and to the point. He makes no attempt to write three volumes, but seems on the whole to be anxious to tell his story in the fewest words. Here and there he falls into the preaching and moralising vein—a circumstance which leads us to suppose that he is a minister —but with these exceptions the action of his narrative never pauses. The characters—Liz, Nanse, Sandy, Adam Scott, and all of them are as distinct as possible, and the author has the art of letting them describe themselves by their sayings and doings. The story is not an uncommon one ; but it is full of human interest. The final scenes are tragic and altogether

unexpected. As might be expected there is much Lowland Scotch in the volume. It deserves to be highly commended. The author we must add has a graphic pen, and some of his descriptive passages, which have the merit of being always short, are wonderfully vivid.

Cora Linn, by J. Gordon Phillips (Alex. Gardner), is an historical romance, the scene of which is laid far back in the almost mythical period of Scottish history. To say that it is full of stir and movement is to give but a slight idea of its intensely dramatic character; incident follows incident with almost breathless rapidity, and in many cases are hinted at rather than narrated. The plot, however, is skilfully woven and contains a number of surprises. Belonging to the period of the Danish invasion, there is in it, as might be expected, much fighting and many hairbreadth escapes. The principal figures in the story are Cora, the King's daughter, her lover Mac Ian Rua, the King's forester; Kentigern, a hermit, who has a wonderful history, and the Witch of the Rumbling Well. Next to Cora the most interesting of these is the hermit. His movements are at times surprising, and one has at times some difficulty in accounting for his appearance. Mr. Phillips has availed himself of all the old machinery of underground passages, poisonings, intrigues, caves, secret doors, and secret chambers. The sudden transitions in the story are at times annoying. The story is sufficiently interesting of itself and we fail to see the necessity for having recourse to an artifice which may do well enough in the pages of a weekly or monthly publication, but is not at all requisite here.

The Men of the Moss-Hags, by S. R. Crockett (Isbister & Co.), is said to be the veracious history of William Gordon of Earlstoun in Galloway, taken from his papers and told over again by the author of the *Raiders*, though when we turn to the story the narrator is not Mr. Crockett, but ostensibly Mr. William Gordon. Judging of him out of his own mouth Mr. William Gordon is a somewhat curious compound. He is slow of thought, particularly slow of perception and somewhat tedious with his pen. With becoming modesty he plays only a second part in the events he has to narrate. He practises pistol shooting with care, but has no stomach for a fight, and sometimes takes refuge behind others. One has a sort of suspicion too that he has no stomach for the preachings he attends. All the same he does good work for the persecuted and proves himself, notwithstanding his trepidation, a sort of dependable man. Taking his narrative as a whole, however, it will scarcely bear comparison with the *Raiders*. The story is too long drawn out. In the scene of the children Mr. Crockett has overshot the mark, and with his sentimentalism spoilt what might otherwise have proved an extremely effective incident. The chapter entitled 'Cupboard Love' is almost silly. Some of the scenes, however, are extremely effective. The best drawn figure in all the multitude that appear on Mr. Crockett's canvas is, at the beginning of his career, Wullcat, though towards the end of the story he degenerates. Mr. Crockett has had a capital subject, but though here and there the signs of great skill are evident, he has not quite risen to the occasion.